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OF
SOUTH AMERICAN INDIANS

JULIAN H. STEWARD, *Editor*

Volume 1

THE MARGINAL TRIBES

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PART 2. INDIANS OF THE GRAN CHACO

ETHNOGRAPHY OF THE CHACO

By ALFRED MÉTRAUX

GEOGRAPHY

The name Chaco, which seems to be derived from a *Quechua* word meaning "hunting ground," is applied to the vast plain which lies in the center of the South American Continent between the fringe of the Matto Grosso Plateau and the Argentine Pampa.

Geographically, the Chaco is a depressed area, bordered on the west by the first ranges of the sub-Andean mountains, and on the north by the low hills and summits detached from the central Brazilian massif and from the Sierras de San José and San Carlos, south of Chiquitos. On the east the Chaco is bounded by the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers and by the widely scattered rocky hills which rise along the Paraguay River. To the south it ends at the foot of the Sierras de Córdoba and Guayasán. Between these mountains and the Paraná River there is a wide gap where the Chaco merges without marked transition into the Pampa.

The present-day boundaries of the Chaco as a culture area do not coincide with those of the Chaco as a geographical entity (map 1, *No. 5;* maps 4, 5). The sub-Andean range of hills (Western Cordillera) lying north and south of the Pilcomayo River falls within the habitat of the *Chiriguano* and *Chané*, two tribes that culturally and linguistically have little or nothing in common with the Chaco peoples. Until a few years ago (1935–37?) many *Chané* had their villages on the lower Parapití River, but they now have been settled by the Paraguayan Army near López de Filippis in the very heart of the Chaco. For purely cultural reasons, the Parapití River and the marshes of Izozog mark the northwestern limits of the Chaco. On the east, however, there was a close correspondence between natural and cultural boundaries until the end of the 17th century, when the *Mbayá* invasions into the regions east of the Paraguay River annexed to the Chaco culture area the *Guaraní* lands situated between the Apa and the Miranda Rivers.

Physical features.—The Chaco plain slopes gently toward the east and more sharply toward the southeast. In the extreme north there rises a quartz plateau, 1,800 feet (550 m.) above sea level, with isolated summits (Cerro San Miguel and Cerro Chico). This whole region is still little known and shelters a few *Zamuco* tribes (*Moro*, *Guarañoca*, *Tsirakua*) who have never had any contacts with White people. In the south there is an area of great depression with large salt marshes.

The soil of the Chaco, like that of the Pampa, is a clayish loess. Not a stone can be found over most of its extension. In many parts of the Chaco, especially in dried lagoons and marshes, the ground is covered with a thin crust of salt.

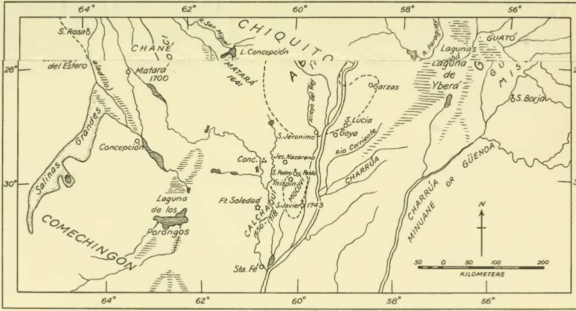
Water system.—Of the many rivers which originate in the Andes and flow into the Chaco, only the Pilcomayo River, the Bermejo River, and Río Salado reach the Paraguay or the Paraná Rivers; the others are lost in the sands, though some in earlier times dug beds hundreds of miles long, which in the rainy season are full of marshes, pools, and lagoons.

The most important river in the Chaco is the Pilcomayo. Along its upper course it is paralleled by dry river beds and cañadas which it supplies with water during the annual floods. At about its middle course the Pilcomayo no longer flows between cliffs, but disappears into the Estero Patiño, a huge marshy tract, lying between the Dorado and the Porteño Rivers. When it reappears at the other end of the Estero Patiño it is divided into two branches, the Brazo Norte and the Brazo Sur. Farther on, these two main arms join again and flow into the Paraguay River, near Lambaré. The lower course of the Pilcomayo River is also a region of swamps, lagoons, and cañadas.

The greatest floods of the Pilcomayo River occur during the summer months, February to April, but most of the water is absorbed by the marshes of the Estero Patiño.

Like the Pilcomayo River, the Bermejo River loses its valley on entering the Chaco plain, where it follows a most capricious course. In 1868, its waters took a northerly direction and now flow through the Teuco River. Between the old dry bed and the new one there are innumerable lagoons, cañadas, and madrejones. The two branches meet again around lat. 25°45′ S., where the river assumes once more the name of Bermejo River. The Bermejo is a typical Chaco river, continually changing its course, traveling from one stream bed to another, cutting its meanders, and forming new branches which are later destroyed (pl. 45).

The third important river of the Chaco is the Río Salado, which on its upper course is known as the Pasaje or Juramento River. As a result of the river's past deviations, the whole southern Chaco is furrowed by a system of dry beds and cañadas.


CHIQUITO
ABIPÓN
CHANÉ
LULE
MATARÁ 1641
Matará 1700
GUATÓ
GUAYCURÚ
MOCOVÍ
CALCHAQUÍ 1650-1718
CHARRÚA
CHARRÚA MINUANE OR GÜENOA
COMECHINGON
S. Rosa
del Estero
Saladillo
R. San Miguel
L. Concepción
Concepción
Salinas Grandes
Laguna de los Porongos
Conc.
Jes. Nazareno
S. Jeronimo
S. Pedro y S. Pablo
Ynispin
S. Javier 1743
Ft. Soledad
Sta. Fé
Arroyo del Rey
Garzas
S. Lucia
Goya
Rio Corriente
R. Paraguay
Lagunas Iberá
Laguna de Yberá
S. Borja
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50 0 50 100 200
KILOMETERS
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28° 30°

MAP 4.–Tribes of the Gran Chaco: Locations at the first European contact.

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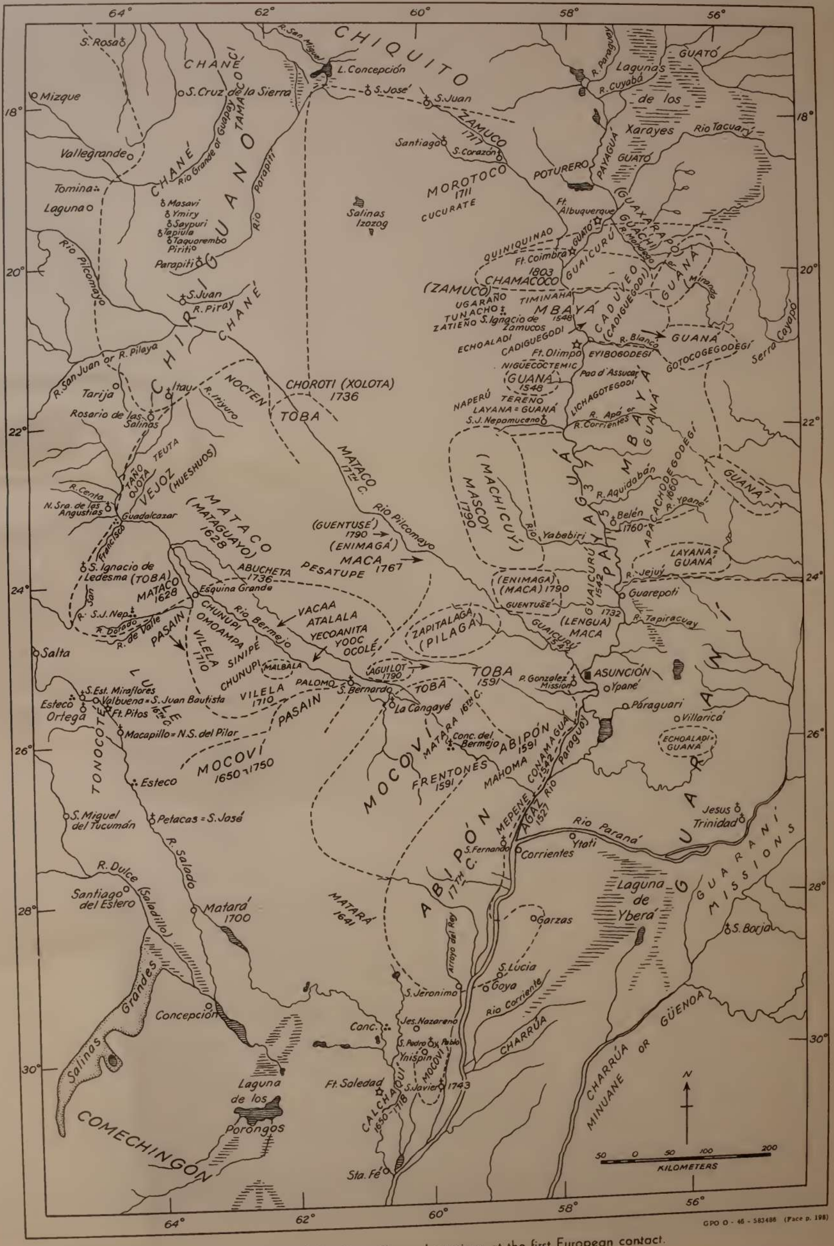
64°
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CHIQUITO
CHANÉ
CHIRIGUANO
TAMACOCI
S. Rosa
Mizque
S. Cruz de la Sierra
L. Concepción
R. San Miguel
S. José
S. Juan
ZAMUCO 1717
Santiago
S. Corazón
Vallegrande
Rio Grande or Guapay
Rio Parapiti
Tomina
Laguna
Masavi
Ymiry
Saypuri
Tapiula
Taquarembo
Piriti
Parapiti
Salinas Izozog
MOROTOCO 1711
CUCURATE
POTURERO
PAYAGUA
R. Paraguay
R. Cuyabá
Lagunas de los Xarayes
GUATÓ
Rio Tacuary
Ft. Albuquerque
GUAXARAPO
GUACHI
R. Mondego
GUAICURÚ
QUINIQUINAO
Ft. Coimbra
1803
CHAMACOCO
(ZAMUCO)
UGARAÑO
TUNACHO
ZATIEÑO
TIMINAHA
S. Ignacio de Zamucos
MBAYÁ 1548
CADUVEO (CADIGUEGODI)
GUANÁ
R. Miranda
Rio Pilcomayo
S. Juan
R. Piray
R. San Juan or R. Pilaya
CHANÉ
Tarija
Itau
R. Itiyuro
NOCTEN
CHOROTI (XOLOTA) 1736
TOBA
Rosario de las Salinas
ECHOALADI
CADIGUEGODI
Ft. Olimpo
EYIBOGODEGI
R. Blanco
GUANÁ
GOTOCOGEGODEGI
Serra Cayapó
NIGUECOCTEMIC
(GUANÁ 1548)
Pao d'Assucar
NAPERÚ
TERENO
LAYANA = GUANÁ
S. J. Nepomuceno
LICHAGOTEGODI
R. Apá or R. Corrientes
MBAYÁ GUANÁ
TAÑO
OJOTA
TEUTA
VEJOZ (HUESHUOS)
MATACO 17th C.
(MACHICUY)
MASCOY 1790
PAYAGUÁ 1537
R. Aquidabán
APACACHODEGODEGI 1660
GUANÁ
R. Centa
N. Sra. de las Angustias
Guadalcazar
R. San Francisco
MATACO (MATAGUAYO) 1628
Rio Pilcomayo
(GUENTUSÉ) 1790
(ENIMAGÁ)
MACA 1767
Rio Yabebiri
Belén 1760
R. Ypané
S. Ignacio de Ledesma (TOBA)
ABUCHETA 1736
PESATUPE
(ENIMAGA) (MACA) 1790
GUENTUSÉ
GUAICURÚ 1542
LAYANA = GUANÁ
R. Jejuy
Guarepoti
MATACO 1628
Esquina Grande
R. S. J. Nep.
R. Dorado
R. de Valle
CHUNUPI
OMOAMPA
VILELA 1710
PASAIN
Rio Bermejo
VACAA
ATALALA
YECOANITA
YOOC
OCOLÉ
ZAPITALAGA (PILAGÁ)
1732
(LENGUA) MACA
GUAICURÚ 1542
R. Tapiracuay
Salta
LULE
SINIPÉ
CHUNUPI
MALBALÁ
AGUILOT 1790
TOBA 1591
P. Gonzalez Mission
ASUNCIÓN
Ypané
S. Est. Miraflores
Valbuena = S. Juan Bautista
Esteco
Ortega
Ft. Pitos
VILELA 1710
PALOMO
S. Bernardo
TOBA
La Cangayé
TOBA 16th C.
Páraguarí
Villarica
Macapillo = N.S. del Pilar
PASAIN
MATARÁ
Conc. del Bermejo
ABIPÓN 1591
CONAMAGUÁ 1542
ECHOALADI = GUANÁ
TONOCOTE
MOCOVI 1650-1750
Esteco
MOCOVI
FRENTONES 1591
MAHOMA
Rio Paraguay
GUARANÍ
S. Miguel del Tucumán
Petacas = S. José
R. Salado
MEPENE
AGAZ 1527
Jesus
Trinidad
Rio Paraná
Ytati
ABIPÓN 17th C.
S. Fernando
Corrientes
GUARANÍ MISSIONS
R. Dulce (Saladillo)
Santiago del Estero
Matará 1700
MATARÁ 1641
Laguna de Ybera
Garzas
S. Borja
Arroyo del Rey
S. Lucia
Goya
Rio Corriente
Salinas Grandes
Concepción
S. Jeronimo
CHARRÚA
GÜENOA
Jes. Nazareno
Conc.
S. Pedro y Pablo
Ynispin
MOCOVI
CHARRÚA OR MINUANE
Laguna de los Porongos
Ft. Soledad
S. Javier
1743
CALCHAQUÍ 1650-1718
COMECHINGÓN
N
50
0
50
100
200
KILOMETERS
Sta. Fé

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MAP 4.—Tribes of the Gran Chaco: Locations at the first European contact.

The Parapití is the only river in the Chaco that belongs to the Amazon water system. It disappears into the marshes of the Izozog and emerges again on the other side under the name of Tunas River.

In the northeastern part of the Chaco, the only water course worth mentioning is the Otuquis River, which is dry during a large part of the year.

On the whole, the Chaco is a dry country (pl. 46) which would be hardly suitable for human settlement were it not that lagoons, water holes, cañadas, and madrejones are abundantly scattered throughout the area. These water holes may dry up suddenly, and the Indians who depended on them are then forced to migrate to more favorable surroundings. Scarcity of water rather than the hostility of the Indians has hampered for centuries the exploration of the Chaco.

The Chaco climate varies somewhat from east to west. Rainfall is heavier in the east (50 inches (1.3 m.) a year), starts earlier (October), and ends only in May. In the center and west, the dry season lasts about 6 months, and the precipitation is less abundant, especially in the central portion of the Chaco (25 inches (63 cm.) a year). In winter, from June to August, when the cold south wind blows, the temperature at night may fall several degrees below the freezing point. The highest temperatures in South America (46° C.) have been recorded in the Chaco, near Villamontes and the Río Salado.

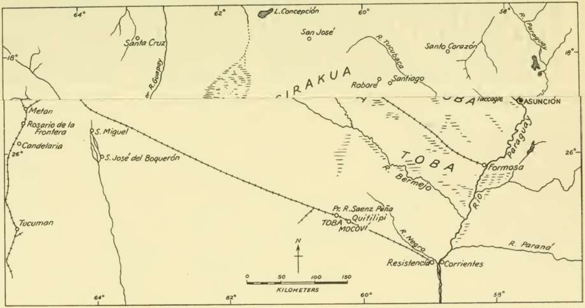
The flora and fauna of the Chaco are discussed under Subsistence Activities.

POST-CONTACT HISTORY

Exploration and conquest.—The dry forests and swamps of the Chaco, inhabited by wild and warlike Indians, had little to entice the Spanish conquistadors. This region, which even today is in some parts terra incognita, was, however, one of the first areas in the interior of South America to be explored by the Whites. The Chaco in itself was unimportant; its historical role was due to the fact that it was the gateway to the fabulous lands of the west from which the *Guaraní* received the silver and gold objects seen by the Spaniards from the mouth of the Río de la Plata to Paraguay. For almost half a century the history of the Río de la Plata consisted of a series of attempts to master the Chaco in order to reach the land of the "metal and of the white king." When, in 1548, the conquistadors under Domingo Martínez de Irala finally realized their dream, it was too late. The rich mountain lands of the west had fallen into the hands of Pizarro and his companions. However, the first man to cross the Chaco and set foot in the empire of the *Inca* was a Portuguese sailor, Alejo García, a shipwrecked member of the Solis armada. Sometime between 1521 and 1526 he joined a party of *Guaraní* who, like many other *Guaraní* groups, were moving westward to loot the border tribes of the *Inca* Empire. Alejo García crossed the northern Chaco (along lat. 19° or 20° S.) and reached the country of the *Chané* and of the *Caracara* (*Charcas*). Although he was murdered on the way back, the news of his exploit and of the wealthy country he had discovered had reached the Portuguese on the Atlantic coast. Rumors about the Peruvian gold carried by the *Guaraní* or the *Chané* provoked a gold rush that started with Sebastian Cabot, 1526, and ended with Domingo Martínez de Irala and Nufrio de Chavez.

The history of the Chaco in the 16th century cannot be separated from that of the conquest of the Río de la Plata. Asunción was founded in 1536 only as a convenient base for the exploration of the Chaco. The main events which marked that period were: The tragic expedition of Juan de Ayolas, 1537–39, who crossed the Chaco to the land of the *Chané*, but on his return was massacred near La Candelaria by the *Payaguá* Indians; the 26-day expedition of Domingo Martínez de Irala from San Sebastian, 8 leagues (24 miles) south of La Candelaria westward, 1540; the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca against the *Mbayá Guaicurú* in 1542; the reconnoitering expedition of Domingo Martínez de Irala in 1542 to Puerto de los Reyes (lat. 17°48′ S., today Laguna Jaiba); the expedition of Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, 1543–44, to the upper Paraguay River, and his vain attempts to cross the northern Chaco; the raid of Nufrio de Chavez into the territory of the *Mbayá*, 1545, and his journey up the Pilcomayo River, 1546; the march of Domingo Martínez de Irala, 1548–49, from Cerro San Fernando (Pão de Azucar, i. e., lat. 20° S.) across the territories of the *Naperú*, *Mbayá*, and *Chané* to the land of the *Tamacosi* on the Río Grande (Guapay River); and the "mala entrada" of 1553, a futile journey of 150 leagues (450 miles) from the Cerro San Fernando across the northern Chaco and the southern fringe of Chiquitos. After the founding of the first city, Santa Cruz de la Sierra, 1561, near San José de Chiquitos, communication was opened between the Paraguay River and the Andes, and between the La Plata Basin and the Amazonian water system. Deceived in their hopes of conquering Perú, the conquistadors of the Río de la Plata then turned their attention toward discovering the mythical land of the "Gran Mojos" and of the "Paititi." The Chaco was no longer the wall that concealed El Dorado and therefore lost its interest.

The success of the expeditions that crossed the northern Chaco, today a region hardly explored, was due mainly to the *Guaraní* guides and auxiliary troops. Numerous expeditions to the Andes had rendered the *Guaraní* familiar with the country, and they evinced great willingness to fight against the tribes that they found on their way. The Spaniards met stragglers of the *Guaraní* migration scattered between the Paraguay River and the first spurs of the Andes. Some villages


64°
62°
L. Concepción
60°
58°
R. Paraguay
18°
Santa Cruz
San José
R. Tucubaca
Santo Corazón
18°
R. Guapay
CIRAKUA
Roboré
Santiago
TOBA
Taccagle
ASUNCIÓN
Metan
Rosario de la Frontera
S. Miguel
Candelaria
26°
S. José del Boquerón
TOBA
Formosa
Paraguay
26°
R. Bermejo
Rio
Tucuman
Pr. R. Saenz Peña
Quitilipi
TOBA
MOCOVI
R. Negro
R. Paraná
N
Resistencia
Corrientes
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100
150
KILOMETERS
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58°

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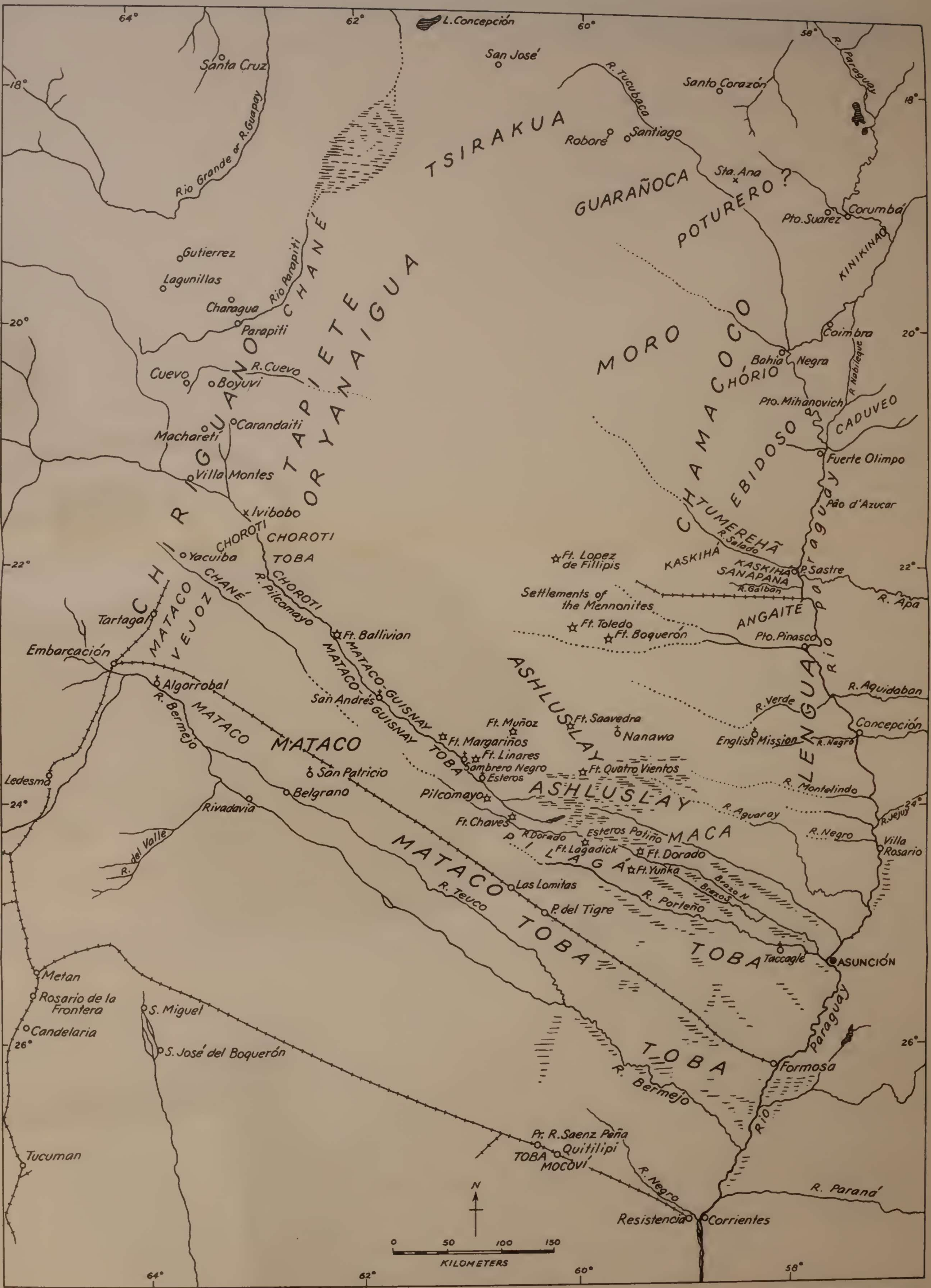
MAP 5.—Tribes of the Gran Chaco: Present day locations.



64°
62°
60°
58°
18°
20°
22°
24°
26°
L. Concepción
San José
Santa Cruz
Rio Grande or R. Guapay
R. Tucubaca
Santo Corazón
R. Paraguay
TSIRAKUA
Roboré
Santiago
GUARAÑOCA
Sta. Ana
POTURERO ?
Corumbá
Pto. Suarez
KINIKINAO
Gutierrez
Lagunillas
Charagua
Rio Parapiti
Parapiti
CHANÉ
TAPIETE
OR YANAIGUA
CHIRIGUANO
MORO
CHAMACOCO
CHÓRIO
Coimbra
Bahia Negra
R. Nabileque
Pto. Mihanovich
CADUVEO
EBIDOSO
Fuerte Olimpo
TUMEREHÃ
Pão d'Azucar
R. Cuevo
Cuevo
Boyuvi
Carandaiti
Machareti
Villa Montes
Ivibobo
CHOROTI
TOBA
Yacuiba
KASKIHÁ
R. Salado
SANAPANA
P. Sastre
R. Galban
R. Apa
Ft. Lopez de Fillipis
Settlements of the Mennonites
ANGAITE
Ft. Toledo
Ft. Boquerón
Pto. Pinasco
Rio Paraguay
R. Pilcomayo
MATACO
VEJOZ
Tartagal
Embarcación
Ft. Ballivian
MATACO-GUISNAY
MATACO-GUISNAY TOBA
Algorrobal
R. Bermejo
San Andrés
ASHLUSLAY
Ft. Saavedra
Nanawa
R. Aquidaban
R. Verde
English Mission
R. Negro
Concepción
LENGUA
Ft. Muñoz
Ft. Margariños
Ft. Linares
Sambrero Negro
Esteros
Ft. Quatro Vientos
R. Montelindo
Ledesma
San Patricio
Belgrano
Pilcomayo
R. Aguaray
R. Jejuy
Rivadavia
Ft. Chaves
R. Dorado
Esteros Patiño
MACA
R. Negro
Villa Rosario
PILAGÁ
Ft. Lagadick
Ft. Dorado
Ft. Yunka
Brazo N
Brazo S
R. del Valle
Las Lomitas
R. Porteño
R. Teuco
P. del Tigre
TOBA
Taccaglé
ASUNCIÓN
Metan
Rosario de la Frontera
Candelaria
S. Miguel
S. José del Boquerón
Formosa
Rio Paraguay
R. Bermejo
Pr. R. Saenz Peña
Quitilipi
TOBA
MOCOVI
R. Negro
R. Paraná
Tucuman
N
Resistencia
Corrientes
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KILOMETERS

GPO O - 46 - 583486 (Face p. 200)

MAP 5.–Tribes of the Gran Chaco: Present day locations.

of these *Guaraní*, such as those near Puerto de los Reyes (Laguna Jaiba), survived until the end of the 17th century.

By the end of the 16th century, Spanish settlements surrounded the Chaco area, and the Spaniards recognized that it would be advantageous, for economic and political reasons, to pacify the Indians and to establish a shorter route between Paraguay and Perú. Nevertheless, fear of this "green hell" and of its inhabitants prevented an extensive conquest. White penetration was accomplished slowly by the establishment of precarious military posts and a few towns, whose settlers either exterminated the Indians or reduced them to serfdom.

The eastern frontier of the Chaco remained almost unchanged for about three centuries. On the west, the Whites expanded more rapidly, but it is a mistake to regard the early cities of Santiago del Estero and of Esteco as advanced posts into the Chaco. They were located in the Chaco as a geographic entity, but their native population consisted of Indians, such as the *Tonocoté*, who were sedentary farmers and who culturally were related to or influenced by their neighbors of the Sierra, the *Diaguita*. On the other hand, Concepción, founded in 1585 on the Bermejo River in the very heart of the Chaco among the warlike *Frentones* or *Guaicurú* tribes, was for 50 years a military base and missionary center. But its destruction in 1632 eliminated for more than a century and a half the hope of establishing direct communication between Corrientes and Tucumán. Guadalcázar, founded in 1628 as a stepping stone for further advances into the Chaco, was likewise short-lived.

The subjugation of the Chaco was retarded also by those Indian tribes which, once in possession of the horse, took the offensive and held back the Spaniards. In the south the *Abipón* and *Mocoví* descended from the Bermejo River into the Pampa, and in the north the *Mbayá* wrested the fertile Province of Itatí east of the Paraguay River from the *Guaraní* and the Spaniards.

Missionization.—The spiritual conquest of the natives of the Chaco, undertaken simultaneously with military penetration, was largely the work of Jesuits. The Jesuits assumed their arduous task not only out of religious zeal, but, in some instances, to demonstrate to the civil authorities their usefulness in pacifying tribes that Spanish arms had been unable to subjugate. The Christianization of the Chaco Indians goes back to the second half of the 16th century, when the cities of Tucumán, Santiago del Estero, and Esteco were founded. Fathers Francisco Solano, Alonso de Bárzana, Francisco de Angulo, Hernando de Monroy, and Juan de Viana baptized countless Indians in the southern Chaco and even preached to the *Abipón* and *Mocoví* of the Bermejo Basin. One hundred years later the Jesuits gathered the most dreaded Indians into missions and temporarily checked their forays against the Whites. Shortly before their expulsion from Paraguay in 1767, the Jesuits had undertaken with some success the conversion of the *Mbayá*, the most dangerous of all Chaco tribes. The Jesuits of the Province of Chiquitos had gained a strong foothold in the northern Chaco and gathered a great many *Zamucoan* tribes and bands into missions. They had taken charge also of the *Lule* and *Vilela*, who were pressed between the Spaniards and their neighbors, the *Toba* and *Abipón*.

The expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767 delayed the pacification of the Chaco. The *Mbayá* resumed their warlike activities, and the *Zamuco* were lost again in the great deserts between the Paraguay and Parapití Rivers. The Franciscans settled in 1780 along the Bermejo River and replaced the Jesuits in the *Toba* and *Mataco* missions, but seemed to lack the energy and intelligent zeal which had distinguished their forerunners.

The Jesuits undoubtedly had some influence on the acculturation of the Chaco Indians, but it is not always easy to distinguish their contributions to the native cultures from those brought about by contact with colonists and military posts. The Jesuits encouraged agriculture and stock raising in order to make the Indians more sedentary. They acquainted them with new foods and many European arts and crafts. Thus, the Jesuits taught weaving to the *Mocoví* women, who in a few years produced a surplus of blankets which they could sell to the Whites (Baucke, 1870, pp. 446–50). It was probably in the missions that the Indians acquired the habit of drinking maté, a beverage of which they became extremely fond, but which they could secure only by trading with the Whites. *Mbayá* decorative art, still flourishing, has a faint rococo flavor that may be ascribed to their prolonged contact with the Jesuit missions and with the Spanish and Portuguese colonists. The missions unwittingly contributed to the rapid decrease of native tribes, for the large concentration of Indians in a single spot was often followed by terrible epidemics of smallpox. After the expulsion of the Jesuits, the *Abipón* and *Mocoví* ceased to play any historic role and soon disappeared. The unity and spirit of these two tribes had been broken.

Introduction of the horse.—The adoption of the horse by several tribes, especially those of the *Guaicurú* group, was the most important consequence of the contact of the Chaco Indians with the Spaniards, and completely revolutionized their economic, social, and political life. The horse had a special appeal for the warlike *Guaicurú*, who practiced little or no farming and who lived close to the ranches of the Pampa, where innumerable horses were to be found. The *Abipón* seem to have been the first Chaco Indians to turn equestrian. At the beginning of the 17th century, they stole their mounts from *Calchaquí* Indians established in the Chaco, who had rebelled against the Spaniards and settled north of Santa Fé. By 1651 other tribes of the Bermejo River also had obtained horses. About the same time the *Mbayá* horsemen began to make their forays into Paraguay.

Once mounted, the mobility and audacity of the Indians made them the scourge of the Spaniards, whom they could now fight on more nearly equal terms and strike far away from home without fear of retaliation. *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Toba*, and *Mbayá* horsemen looted Spanish farms and ranches, and even became a direct threat to Santa Fé, Corrientes, Asunción, Santiago del Estero, Tucumán, and Córdoba. They cut communications between Buenos Aires and Perú and greatly hampered colonization and trade in regions far beyond the Chaco frontier.

The tribes of the western and extreme northern parts of the Chaco, though acquainted with the horse, did not become nomadic herders and even today retain the seasonal economic rhythm of the pre-Colonial era. Lack of suitable pastures was probably an important obstacle to the widespread use of the horse, but other factors also may have hindered its adoption. For instance, the more sedentary *Mataco* farmers were less prone to use horses than the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, who always had led a roaming life. The tribes of the middle Pilcomayo River, who subsisted on fishing and were not in direct contact with the Whites, received their first horses in recent times. Of the non-*Guaicuruan* tribes, only the *Atalala*, *Paisan*, some *Macá*, and *Mascoi* bands became true horsemen during the 18th century. Nevertheless, horses were fairly numerous in the *Mataco* and *Vilela* villages of the middle Bermejo River. The *Paisan* traded theirs from the *Mocoví* of Santa Fé for spears (Muriel, 1918, p. 111).

Some of the outstanding changes brought about in native culture were the complete abandonment of agriculture by some equestrian groups and, among the *Mbayá* and to some extent among the *Abipón*, the formation of a large servile class composed of captives taken during the raids. The suzerainty of the *Mbayá* over the *Guaná* farmers, already established before the coming of the Spaniards, was strengthened after they adopted the horse. The pure-blooded *Mbayá*, ruling over their *Guaná* serfs and relieved from most drudgery by their slaves, constituted an aristocracy of horsemen and herders over sedentary agriculturists.

The 17th century to the present day.—During the 17th century, the Spaniards in Paraguay sent several expeditions against the *Payaguá* and the *Mbayá* to chastise them for their raids against the colonists. On the other side of the Chaco, the Governor of Tucumán, Angel de Peredo, organized a great drive, 1673, against the Indians of the upper Bermejo and Pilcomayo Rivers. Three columns entered the Chaco but retreated after taking a few prisoners and killing some Indians. Of far greater importance to the history of the Chaco was the campaign of another governor of Tucumán, Ésteban Urizar y Arespacochaga, 1710, which resulted in the subjugation of many tribes, mainly *Lule-Vilela* of the Bermejo Basin, and led to the pacification of other groups. In 1759 the governor of Tucumán, Joaquín Espinosa y Davalos, advanced into the Chaco in order to meet another expedition sent from Corrientes; he followed the course of the Bermejo River but did not reach its mouth. In 1764 Miguel Arrascaeta reached Lacangayé but was forced by the Indians to retreat. The Matorras expedition in 1774 along the Bermejo River ended somewhat below Lacangayé. D. Francisco Gabino Arias founded in 1780 the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores de Lacangayé for the *Mocoví* and that of San Bernardo for the *Toba*. The following year Arias, together with Father Francisco Morillo, descended the Bermejo River from Lacangayé to the Paraná River, thus completing the exploration of its course.

The history of the central Chaco during the 19th century is marked by the slow but systematic advance of the Argentine Army and colonists from the central Chaco toward the Pilcomayo River. North of the Pilcomayo, White penetration was slower and never extended far beyond the banks of the Paraguay River in the east nor beyond the foothills of the Andes and the chain of the Franciscan missions in the west.

In Argentina and Bolivia the colonization of the Chaco was based on cattle raising. The character of this economy led to many conflicts with the Indians who stole cattle or resented the encroachments on their fields. In the Paraguayan Chaco, the penetration of the Whites was motivated by the exploitation of the quebracho forests for tanin. The industrialists made great efforts to secure the cooperation of the Indians as lumberjacks. No major conflicts have marked the establishment of the obrajes (lumber camps), which, however, brought abrupt cultural disintegration of the Indians, who live at Puerto Pinasco, Puerto Casado, Puerto Sastre, and elsewhere.

In the 20th century, Bolivia's hope of finding an outlet to the sea across the Chaco plains resulted in the establishment of a line of small forts that was continually pushed eastward. The Paraguayans simultaneously advanced westward to guarantee their rights in the contested area. During the 1932–35 war, the presence of two contending armies in the Chaco brought great loss of life and property to the Indians.

Protestant missions of the South American Evangelical Society have extended their protection since 1887 to the *Lengua*, and in more recent years to several *Mataco* and *Toba* groups. In a short time they have obtained remarkable results and have helped the Indians in their harsh struggle for survival. Several thousand *Ashluslay* Indians are under the care of or in touch with the German missionaries of the Order of the Oblates of Mary Immaculate (San José de Esteros, Laguna Escalante, Misión Huachalla, and Lopez de Filippis). Italian Salesians also have been active in the Paraguayan Chaco since 1920. Many *Toba* of the lower Pilcomayo are concentrated in the Franciscan mission of San Francisco Solano at Taccagale.

A great many Indians of the Argentine Chaco have found refuge in "colonias" established by the Comisión Honoraria de Reducciones de Indios. The most important of these "colonias" or "reducciones" are: Napalpí, near Quetilipí in the Gobernación del Chaco, which has more than 2,500 Indians, including *Mocoví* and a few *Vilela;* and the "colonia" Bartolomé de las Casas, near Commandante Fontana, in Formosa, which was formed with 1,500 *Toba* and *Pilagá.* In 1935, two new "colonias," Francisco Javier Muñiz and Florentino Ameghino, were created in the Territory of Formosa for the *Pilagá.*

In winter most of the Indians of the Argentine Chaco seek work on the sugarcane plantations of Jujuy and Salta. These varied contacts with "civilization" are destroying the aboriginal cultures, and the native population is decreasing rapidly.

The Mennonite colonies of the Paraguayan Chaco have always maintained friendly relations with the Indians, mainly with the *Ashluslay.*

SOURCES

Chaco Indians—the *Mepene* (*Abipón?*) and the *Agaz* (*Payaguá*)—are first mentioned in Luis Ramírez's (Medina, 1908 a, 1: 453) account of Sebastian Cabot's expedition up the Paraná River in 1527. But our most ancient authorities on the ethnography of Chaco natives are the German adventurer, Ulrich Schmidel (1903), who served as a mercenary under Pedro de Mendoza, Irala, and other conquistadors, and Pedro Hernández (1852), the secretary of the Adelantado, Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca. Schmidel lists, in a complicated German spelling, the names of a great many Indian tribes, some of which survived until the 18th century and even to the present. He also makes brief remarks about their appearance, their diet, and their ways of fighting. To Pedro Fernández we owe a short but fairly accurate description of the ancient *Guaicurú* (*Mbayá*) and almost the only existing data on the cultures of the upper Paraguay River, which disappeared soon after the Conquest.

Most of the official documents concerning the discovery of the Paraguay Basin contain references to Chaco tribes but tell us little if anything about their culture. The "Historia Argentina de las Provincias del Río de la Plata," by Rui Díaz de Guzmán (1914), and the epic poem "La Argentina," by Barco Centenera (1836), add practically nothing to our knowledge of the early ethnography of the region. The "Relaciones geográficas de Indias" (1881–97), published by Marcos Jiménez de la Espada, have often been utilized to determine the position of the tribes of the western and central Chaco at the time of the discovery of the ancient Province of Tucumán.

The "Cartas anuas de la Provincia del Paraguay," written by Jesuit missionaries and recently reprinted in Buenos Aires (1927–29), are a mine of information on the history, ethnic geography, and, in some measure, on the customs of the Chaco Indians. They cover the period from 1609 to 1637 and have been utilized by Nicolás del Techo in his "Historia Provinciae Paraquariae" (1673), which still is the fundamental source on Chaco ethnography in the 17th century. Other Jesuit authors, such as Lozano and Charlevoix, also have based their documentation on the field reports of the Jesuit missionaries.

The 18th century is the golden age of ethnological literature on the Chaco. During the first 50 years, the Jesuits took a firm hold in the Chaco and became familiar with its tribes. The triumphs and, subsequently, the expulsion of the Order from Paraguay provoked a general interest in everything pertaining to the region. To satisfy the public's curiosity, the Jesuits drew on their vast experience and published a great many works full of new and interesting details on the Indians. One of the masterpieces of the Jesuit period is Pedro Lozano's monumental "Descripción chorográfica del Gran Chaco Gualamba," published at Córdoba, Spain, in 1736 and reprinted in Tucumán in 1941. Lozano's "Historia de la conquista del Paraguay, Río de la Plata y Tucumán" (1873–74) and Francois Xavier Charlevoix's "Histoire du Paraguay" (1757) are essential sources on the history of the Chaco. Father Muriel (1918) covers the events from 1747 to 1767.

One of the most famous monographs ever written on any South American tribe is Martin Dobrizhoffer's "Historia de Abiponibus, equestri, bellicosaque Paraquariae natione," Vienna, 1784, which was translated into German and English. In this book the author describes the life and customs of the *Abipón*, a *Guaicuruan* tribe, among whom he lived from 1750 to 1762. Less known but almost as rich in detail are the memoirs of another German Jesuit, Florian Baucke (Paucke), but up to the present they have appeared only in abridged form (Kobler, "Pater Florian Baucke, Ein Jesuit in Paraguay" [1748–1766], Regensburg, 1870). A Spanish version of the whole manuscript has been prepared in Argentina (Florian Paucke, "Hacia allá y para acá," Tucumán, 1942–43). The value of Baucke's description is enhanced by his own drawings, which represent scenes of *Mocoví* life (Baucke, 1935).

"El Paraguay Católico," by the Jesuit Father José Sánchez Labrador, which was published only in 1910, must be placed on the same scientific level as Dobrizhoffer's masterpiece. The chapters dedicated to the *Mbayá*, among whom the author lived from 1760 to 1767, constitute one of the best and most truthful accounts of any South American tribe.

Good but far too brief monographs, also written by Jesuit missionaries, on southern Chaco groups complete the general picture of that region in the 18th century. To this latter group of documents belongs Father Joaquín Camaño y Bazán's description (1931) of the *Lule-Vilela* and other groups of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo Rivers. Some of these notes were published in recent years by Father G. Fúrlong (1938 b and c, 1939, 1941). The Jesuit Father José Jolis ("Saggio sulla storia naturale della Provincia del Gran Chaco," Faenza, 1789), composed a learned treatise on the geography and natural history of the Chaco which abounds in important details about the Indians. His map of the Chaco indicating the locations of native tribes is justly famous.

José Guevara's "Historia del Paraguay" (1908–10) has saved for posterity a few *Mocoví* myths. Hervás' classification of Chaco languages (1800–1805) is based on Jesuit documents. Many of the data presented by Félix de Azara (1809 and 1904) come from the same source, but this famous naturalist and geographer, who was always hostile to the Indians, is not a reliable authority, though he still enjoys considerable prestige among scholars. The diary of Juan Francisco Aguirre, another Spanish officer who visited Paraguay at the beginning of the 19th century, supplements Azara's information, but his main contribution to the ethnography of the Chaco consists of word lists which have thrown some light on the linguistic classification and nomenclature of that area, and of an excellent description of the *Payaguá*. Rodrigues do Prado (1839) and Ricardo Franco de Almeida Serra (1845), both Portuguese officers on Chaco outposts, have left us valuable reports on the *Mbayá* at the beginning of the 19th century. Several chapters of the posthumous book by the Swiss naturalist, J. R. Rengger (1835), deal with the Chaco Indians, especially the *Payaguá*, whom the author knew at first hand.

Several memoirs of Spanish officers who at the end of the 18th century explored the lower course of the Bermejo River allow us to locate accurately the *Mataco*, *Toba*, and *Vilela* settlements of that region, but provide us with scant information on their ethnography. Most of these documents have been published by de Angelis in his well-known collection.

During most of the 19th century, the ethnography of the Chaco suffered an eclipse, and students must content themselves with scattered references and short descriptions in travelers' diaries. Even the famous Alcide d'Orbigny (1835–47) and Castelnau (1850–59) offer little new on the region. The long report on the Franciscan missions in Bolivia written by José Cardus (1886) is especially important for the brief data it contains on the little-known tribes of the northern Chaco.

New impetus was given to field research in the Chaco by the Italian painter and explorer, Guido Boggiani, who rediscovered the *Chamacoco* and studied the modern *Mbayá* (*Caduveo*) during the last decade of the 19th century. His vocabularies, monographs, and especially his "Guaicurú" (1898–99) and his "Compendio de etnografía paraguaya" (1900 b) contributed much to the clarification of Chaco ethnography. The various "essays" of another Italian traveler of the same period, Giovanni Pelleschi (1881), are full of worth-while observations on the *Mataco*. Excellent material on several tribes has been collected by Domenico del Campana (1902 a and b, 1903, 1913), who lived for many years in the Chaco. An article by Seymour Hawtrey (1901) on the *Lengua* is a much quoted source on these Indians.

By far the best monograph on a single Chaco tribe is Barbrooke Grubb's "An Unknown People in an Unknown Land" (1913). This work, though superficial in many respects, is particularly useful for the light it throws on Indian psychology. Strangely enough, there is no modern detailed study of the total culture of a single Chaco tribe. On the other hand, several good sources may be consulted on the various aspects of culture, though some of them were intended to be a complete survey of a tribe's ethnography.

Our best contemporary authorities on techniques, material apparatus, and economy are Nordenskiöld (1912, 1919), Palavecino (1933 a), Rosen (1924), and Max Schmidt (1903, 1937 a and b); on religion and mythology, Baldus (1931 a), Campana (1903, 1913), Lehmann-Nitsche (1923 b and c, 1924–25 a, b, c, d, and e), Karsten (1913, 1923, 1932), Métraux (1935, 1937, 1939, 1941), and Palavecino (1940). Data on social organization are difficult to obtain in modern literature and do not compare with those which can be gleaned from Dobrizhoffer or Sánchez Labrador. On this particular subject, Baldus (1931 a, 1937 a, 1939), Hay (1928), and Métraux (1937) may be consulted.

Brinton (1898), Lafone-Quevedo (1893, 1894, 1895 a and b, 1896 a, b, and c, 1897 b, 1899) and Koch-Grünberg (1902 a, 1903 a) have laid the basis of the present linguistic grouping of Chaco tribes. The missionary R. Hunt (1913, 1915, 1937, 1940), has composed the most satisfactory grammers and vocabularies of modern Chaco languages. Large collections of *Toba* and *Pilagá* texts were made by Jules Henry and A. Métraux, but have not been published yet. Measurements of Chaco Indians have been taken by Lehmann-Nitsche (1904, 1908 b). Kersten (1905) is the author of a well-documented history of the Chaco tribes during the 17th and 18th centuries. Father G. Fúrlong (1938 b and c, 1939, 1941) has undertaken the task of reconstructing the life of the ancient Jesuit missions in the Argentine Chaco. Enrique de Gandía (1929) has written a general history of the discovery and conquest of the Chaco by the Spaniards. To Jules Henry (1940) we owe two psychological essays on the *Pilagá*.

ARCHEOLOGY OF THE CHACO

Archeologically, the Chaco is still a terra incognita. Several important finds have been made in regions which, though loosely considered parts of the Chaco geographical area, cannot be included within it from a cultural or an historical point of view.

Émile and Duncan Wagner have attached the label "Civilization of the Chaco santiagueño" to the painted pottery and other remains which they have collected in the Province of Santiago (Argentina). Judged from its ceramics, the "culture of Santiago del Estero" is but an offshoot of the *Diaguita* civilization and has little or nothing in common with that of the seminomadic Chaco tribes.

There is no resemblance between modern Chaco ware and the pottery discovered by Nordenskiöld (1902–03) and Boman (1908, 2:833–54) in the valley of the San Francisco and in the Sierra Santa Bárbara on the threshold of the Chaco. On the other hand, the ceramics of eastern Jujuy show many analogies with urns and vases unearthed farther to the west in the plains of Tucumán and Salta, where once flourished a culture best represented by the finds of La Candelaria in the Province of Salta. (On this culture, see Handbook, vol. 2, pp. 661–672.) The carriers of the La Candelaria civilization were undoubtedly the *Tonocoté*, who have been identified, without reason, with the Chaco *Lule*. The ceramics from former *Tonocoté* territory are distinct from that of the *Diaguita* area but typologically belong to the Andean sphere.

Boman's hypothesis (1908, 1:255–79) that the funeral urns for adults found at El Carmen, Province of Salta, were evidence of an early *Guaraní* invasion into the northwest of the Argentine has long been discarded. The interment of adults in urns is also a characteristic feature of the La Candelaria culture.

Only insignificant archeological material has come from the Chaco proper. Grubb (1913, p. 73) alludes to potsherds "bearing scorings, as if made by the pressure of the thumb," which could be found now and then in the territory of the *Lengua*. A large jar, 4 feet (1.25 m.) high, was unearthed at the *Lengua* mission of Makthlawaiya (Pride, 1926). Both the sherds and the jar appear to be of *Guaraní* origin—a confirmation of early statements about sporadic *Guaraní* infiltrations into the Chaco.

Márquez Miranda (1942) has described in great detail some potsherds from Las Lomitas (Territory of Formosa, Argentina) which, though discovered deep in the earth, do not differ from modern Chaco pottery. Even fingernail impressions, which occur on one fragment, cannot be considered a feature unknown to modern *Mataco* who live in the same region.

Boggiani (1900 b, p. 90) mentions important shell mounds at Puerto 14 de Mayo and at several other points along the upper Paraguay River. These mounds contained potsherds with a decoration similar to that of modern *Mbayá-Caduveo*. Vellard (1934, p. 45) reports that funeral urns have been found in great quantity in a cemetery near Puerto Guaraní.

CULTURAL INFLUENCES ON THE CHACO AREA

Culturally as well as ecologically, the Chaco is a transitional zone between the tropical plains of the Amazon Basin and the barren pampas of the Argentine. Along its western border it was widely open to influences from the Andean world, and in the east it abutted on a subtropical region inhabited by *Guaraní* tribes, both numerous and warlike.

Cultural streams from all these quarters converged in the Chaco and mingled to produce a new type of civilization. The influences of the Andean people, which are the most important and easily discernible, will be discussed first.

The 16th-century conquistadors looted silver ornaments from the *Guaicurú*, and their frequent allusions to gold, silver, and copper objects in Paraguay leave no doubt as to the existence of aboriginal trade routes across the Chaco forests. Moreover, several passages in old documents refer to active commercial relations between the Indians of the mountains and their neighbors of the plains. The Indians of the Calchaquí Valley organized peaceful expeditions to the Chaco to get wood for their bow staves. Chaco Indians in turn came to the border villages of the *Inca* Empire to barter deer and wildcat skins and rhea and egret feathers. It also is likely that Chaco bands worked for the *Tonocoté* and *Ocloya* farmers just as they now come to the sugar factories of Salta and Jujuy. Even today the *Tapieté* hire themselves to the *Chiriguano* in return for supplies of maize.

These frequent contacts contributed to the diffusion of the following Andean culture traits listed by Nordenskiöld: Spades, knuckle dusters, clubs with outstanding heads, slings, wooden knives, toothed wooden scrapers, feather fire fans, wooden bowls, wooden spoons, ponchos, shirts, woven girdles, sandals, netted hoods, spangles of shell beads, woven brow bands, wooden combs, earthen vessels carried by a string, games of chance, the tsuka game, drums with skin heads, kelim technique with open slits, tie-dyeing, long wooden whistles, eyed needles, handles on earthen vessels, lids on calabashes, pyrograving, sewing of cracked calabashes, and knitting technique.

The Andean origin of several of Nordenskiöld's traits is very doubtful. For instance, nothing indicates that the so-called knuckle dusters of the Calchaquí region were used like the leather rings of belligerent Chaco housewives. Chaco clubs cannot be compared to the composite clubs of the *Inca*. The Chaco caraguata shirt is typologically and technically different from the Andean camiseta. Calabashes with lids or with sewed cracks are so widespread in South America that they cannot be assigned to Peruvian influence. It seems only natural that a people without basketry should fan their fires with feathers. The poncho is probably post-Columbian in Perú, and in the Chaco is mentioned for the first time in the 18th century as a garment borrowed from the Creoles. Wooden whistles both of the long and the round types may have originated in the Andes but have never been found there.

By limiting himself to such atomistic trait lists, Nordenskiöld neglected to stress more decisive proofs of Peruvian influence. That knowledge of agriculture probably came from the Andean region can be inferred from the fact that men rather than women till the soil and that they use the shovel rather than the digging stick. The patterns on Chaco textiles are clearly related to those of the Andes. The decoration on *Mbayá-Caduveo* pottery presents obvious analogies with Peruvian motifs, even perhaps with the early art of Chavín. Chaco mythology has several themes in common with *Quechua* and *Aymara* folklore. The theory which assigns disease to soul-loss is perhaps characteristic of western South America,[1] and it never has succeeded in eliminating the more ancient Chaco belief that the magic intrusion of foreign substances in the body causes sickness.

The role of the *Arawakan Chané* (*Guaná*) in spreading Andean culture must have been considerable. In the west they formed a buffer between the Chaco tribes and the people of the foothills of the Andes. All the objects which originated in the Andes and which were adopted by Chaco Indians occur also among the *Chané*. Even the *Chiriguano*, who replaced them in the 16th century, exercised no little influence on their immediate neighbors, the *Tapieté*, *Choroti*, and *Toba*.

Along their northern and eastern borders the Chaco tribes were in direct contact with representatives of the two main tropical linguistic groups, the *Arawak* and the *Guaraní*. The *Guaná* (or *Chané*), who occupied the Chaco from lat. 22° S., belonged to the same group as the western *Chané*, but their culture had been less modified by influences from the Andean area. Techniques which can be specifically assigned to *Arawak* or *Guaraní* influences are surprisingly few. They include: The loom, the hammock (here used as a cradle), some types of nets, the feather ornaments of the *Mbayá* and *Chamacoco*, the use of urucú, basketry among the *Mbayá*, the baby sling, and the shuttlecock of maize leaves. The cultivation of sweet manioc may also be the result of contact with the *Guaraní* or the *Arawak*. Chaco arrows are typologically identical to those used throughout tropical America, but the feathering—a subvariety of the cemented type—is distinctive for the area. Chaco carrying nets are made of the same material and with the same techniques as those of the *Botocudo*, *Purí-Coroado*, and *Camacan*, but the net industry in the latter tribes is one of the features which sets them apart within the tropical forest culture area.

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[1] The soul-loss theory seems more widely spread in tropical South America than our sources indicate.

The religious beliefs and shamanistic practices of the Chaco Indians do not differ markedly from those of the Amazonian basin. The initiation rites of the *Chamacoco* must be linked with those of the *Ona* and of the *Yahgan*, but have a great many features in common with the ceremonies of several tropical tribes, in particular those of their *Guaná* neighbors. It will probably remain undetermined whether the ceremonial terrorization of women by mummers is a late acquisition from some tropical tribes (i. e., *Arawak*) or the survival of ancient rites once known to the Chaco and Fuegian tribes. Gusinde favors the former hypothesis.

The impact of White civilization during the past 300 years has also modified Chaco culture in many respects. The deep changes brought about by the horse have been mentioned. Most of the tribes have received sheep, goats, cattle, and dogs. Wealth in sheep favored the development of weaving, which became one of the main industries. Woolen garments replaced the former skin clothing. The Chaco Indians have received the following traits from the Whites: Tinder boxes for flint and steel, clarinets of cow horn, knitting with needles, certain folk-tale motifs, decorative patterns (on *Caduveo* pottery). They also have adopted new plants, such as caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), watermelons, sugarcane, and others. Nordenskiöld (1919, p. 232) makes an interesting observation about White influence:

> The positive influence of White culture is, generally speaking, greater in those parts where the Indians live far away from the Whites, than in those where they live in direct dependence under the White man. Thus the Ashluslay, who have preserved their independence, carry on ranching on a large scale, while some Mataco tribes, almost entirely dependent, have no cattle at all. Up to quite recent times, the Ashluslay were in the happy position of being able to derive advantages from the Whites without falling into irretrievable poverty.

The Chaco Indians share several culture traits with the tribes of Patagonia. According to Nordenskiöld, these are: Skin mats, bowstrings of leather, bows without notches at the ends, cloaks of several skins sewn together, skin skirts, leather girdles, hairbrushes, bags made of ostrich (rhea) necks, bags made of the whole skin of a small animal, hockey, and twisting of skin thongs. We may add: moccasins, decorative pattern on skin cloaks, harpoons with barbed heads (*Mocoví*), and bolas (*Mocoví*, *Abipón*, *Lengua*).

However, it is rather by their general type of life that the Chaco Indians resemble the southern tribes, and the analogies with them grow as one goes from the northern Chaco to the south. It is, for instance, difficult to distinguish the *Mocoví* from the *Charrua*.

In some remote past before they came in touch with the people of the Andes or with the *Arawak* and *Guaraní* tribes to the north and east, the Chaco Indians were nomadic collectors, fishermen, and hunters. They dressed in painted skin cloaks and lived in flimsy communal houses. They had neither basketry nor weaving, but excelled in making netted bags. They were grouped in small bands formed by a few extended families; their religious practices consisted mainly of magic rites which aimed at expelling or controlling evil spirits. Their shamans derived their power from familiar spirits after a voluntary quest. They celebrated puberty rites for girls and in some, if not all the tribes, initiation ceremonies for boys.

Several of the parallels between the cultures of the North and South American Indians tend to cluster in the Chaco. According to Nordenskiöld (1931, pp. 77–94), these are: Pit dwellings (?), houses with porches (?), skin cloaks, skin skirts, fringed skin belts, leggings, moccasins, embroidery on skins, arrows fastened with fish glue (*Vilela*), arrow quivers (*Abipón*, *Mocoví*), hair brushes, scalping, smoke signaling, dancing with deer-hoof rattles, hockey game, ring-and-pin game, and monitor pipes. Thus of 35 parallels enumerated by Nordenskiöld, 17 occur in the Chaco. It must be stressed that most of these traits are very minor ones, and there is no need to attribute their existence to survivals. The Chaco use of skins for clothing has naturally brought about secondary features which are also found among North American tribes who wore skin garments. The small porch which the Indians sometimes build against the wind cannot be construed as a parallel to the entrances of the Eskimo snow huts. The arrow quiver of the *Mocoví* and *Abipón* is probably a local development, because if it were ancient it would have been more widespread throughout the Chaco. The same is true of the fish-glued arrows of the *Vilela*. The *Pilagá* and *Toba* moccasins are not true footgear, but are only an improvised protection for the feet when the Indians cross a thorny terrain or wade in the marshes. Not unlikely, they are a recent crude imitation of European shoes.

Analogies between Chaco mythology and North American folklore are, however, more striking than the few similarities in material culture. It is probable that, together with the Fuegian and Patagonian tribes, the Chaco Indians represent an ancient population who, until recently, have preserved several features of a very archaic culture, which in remote ages might have been common to primitive tribes of both North and South America.

LINGUISTIC AND TRIBAL DIVISIONS

THE GUAICURUAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

The *Guaicuruan* was the most extensive linguistic family in the Chaco. Its dialects were spoken from Santa Fé in the Argentine to Corumbá in Brazil, and from the Paraná and Paraguay Rivers to the Andes. Before the Conquest, the bulk of the warlike tribes belonging to this family were concentrated between the Pilcomayo and Bermejo Rivers and along the Paraguay River beyond lat. 20° S. The *Guaicurú* expansion throughout the Chaco and into Paraguay took place during the 17th and 18th centuries and resulted partly from their acquisition of the horse.

The affinities between the various dialects of this family are very close, and were noticed by the Jesuits. In modern times Lafone-Quevedo (1893, 1896 c, 1896 d), Adam (1899), and Koch-Grünberg (1903 b) established their relationship on a scientific basis. The tribes whose inclusion in the family is beyond doubt are the *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Payaguá*, and *Mbayá*. The affiliation of the *Guachí* is doubtful. The only existing *Guachí* vocabulary was collected by Castelnau in 1850 and shows unmistakable relations with *Mbayá*, but it also has many differences which suggest that the *Guachí*, who are said to have spoken a language of their own, had recently adopted the tongue of the *Mbayá*, with whom they maintained friendly contacts and with whom they finally merged.

The relationship of the *Aguilot* and *Cocolot* languages to the *Guaicuruan* family is postulated on historical, not linguistic, evidence.

The only modern representatives of the *Guaicuruan* family are the *Toba*, *Pilagá*, a few *Caduveo*, and perhaps some *Mocoví*.

The name *Guaicurú* seems to have been applied by the *Guaraní* to the warlike and half nomadic Indians on the western side of the Paraguay River, most of whom in the 16th and 17th centuries belonged to the *Mbayá* tribe. *Guaicurú* and *Mbayá* may, therefore, be considered as synonyms, even though the former name may have been given to some Indians of the *Mascoian* or *Matacoan* families, e. g., the *Lengua*, *Macá*, and others. (See Boggiani, 1898–99.) There is no evidence to substantiate Azara's contention that there existed a separate *Guaicurú* tribe which became extinct at the end of the 18th century.

According to Spanish sources (Lozano, 1941, p. 62), the Indians known as *Guaicurú* were divided into three subgroups:

(1) The *Codollate* (*Codalodi, Taquiyiqui*), who were gathered into the short-lived mission of Santos Reyes Magos and later were destroyed by the eastern *Mbayá*, who absorbed their remnants (see Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:262); (2) the *Guaicurutí* (*Napipinyiqui, Napiyegi*), an unidentified western *Mbayá* group who were also absorbed by the eastern *Mbayá;* and (3) the *Guaicurú-guazú* (*Eyiguayegui*), who were the *Mbayá* proper, because *Eyiguayegui* ("the inhabitants of the palm groves") was the generic name for all *Mbayá* subtribes and bands both east and west of the Paraguay River.

The *Frentones* of the lower and middle Bermejo River, so named because of their shaved foreheads, can easily be identified with the historical *Toba* and *Abipón*.[2] The Jesuit missionaries Bárzana and Añasco, made the first, but unsuccessful, attempt to convert them in 1591. The term *Frentones* disappeared from the literature after the destruction of Concepción del Bermejo by these Indians in 1632.

Mbayá (*Guaicurú, Tajuanich, Guaiquilet, Indios Cavalheiros*).—The southernmost bands of the *Mbayá* were undoubtedly the *Guaicurú*, who lived across the Paraguay River from Asunción and who were defeated by Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca in 1542. The *Guaicurú* (*Codollate*) of the mission of Santos Reyes Magos were one of their bands. In the 16th century, the *Mbayá* extended along the western side of the Paraguay River from the mouth of the Pilcomayo River far beyond lat. 20° S.

History of the Mbayá.—On his journey across the Chaco, Domingo de Irala found the *Mbayá* 70 miles west of Cerro San Fernando (Pão de Azucar), beyond another tribe called *Naperú* (*Guaná?*). The *Mbayá* at first received the Spaniards in a friendly way, but soon turned against them. The Spaniards took revenge by slaughtering another *Mbayá* group which was completely innocent of the attack.

The hostilities between the *Mbayá* and the Spaniards of Paraguay started in 1653. About 1661, the *Mbayá* crossed the Paraguay River, attacked the Province of Itati and destroyed the mission of Santa María de Fé (lat. 20°5′ S.) After laying waste Xerez, most of the *Mbayá* returned to the Chaco, but some bands remained in the conquered region. In the following decades, the areas between the Jejuy River in the south and the Tacuary River and the Xarayes marshes in the north fell into their hands. From there, they constantly raided the towns and missions of Paraguay and, on several occasions, threatened Asunción. It was not until about 1744 that Rafael de la Moneda, Governor of Paraguay, was able to organize effective resistance against these Indians. However, in 1751 the *Mbayá* destroyed the town of Curuquatí, killing a large part of its population. The eastern and southern *Mbayá* made peace with the Spaniards in 1756 and renewed their treaty in 1774. Western *Mbayá* pushed also toward the north and assaulted the Christianized *Chiquito*. They continued their raids long after the expulsion of the Jesuits in 1767.

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[2] Even in recent years, the *Pilagá*, like their *Guaicuruan* ancestors, depilated the forehead.

In the beginning of the 18th century, some *Mbayá* bands allied themselves with the *Payaguá*. Changing from horsemen into boatmen and river pirates, they ambushed miners and colonists as they sailed from São Paulo to Matto Grosso on the Tacuary, Paraguay, and Cuyabá Rivers. On several occasions they attacked large expeditions and slaughtered several hundred persons. (For a detailed account of these assaults, see Rodrigues do Prado, 1839, pp. 41–44.)

The punitive expedition of Rodrigues de Carvalho in 1734 did not prevent the *Mbayá* from making the territory along the Cuyabá River dangerous for many more years. Their striking power declined after 1768, when their alliance with the *Payaguá* was broken, but they continued to raid the Portuguese; some of their war parties went as far as lat. 16°3′ S. on the Paraguay River and others reached the Iguatemí, a tributary of the Paraná River. In 1775, the *Mbayá* destroyed a few farms near Villa Maria (lat. 16°3′ S.).

Military posts were established both by Spaniards and by Portuguese at Fuerte Olimpo or Bourbon (1772), at San Carlos on the Apa River, at Nova Coimbra, and at Albuquerque. These kept the *Mbayá* at bay, though in 1778 the *Mbayá* slaughtered part of the garrison of Nova Coimbra. In less than a century they are said to have killed about 4,000 Portuguese.

Toward the end of the 18th century, several *Mbayá* groups, hard-pressed by the Spaniards, settled near Albuquerque in Portuguese territory. Those of the Mondego River put themselves under Portuguese protection at Miranda. In 1791 the *Mbayá* made formal peace with the Portuguese and thenceforth ceased their attacks, even helping them in their fights against the Spaniards.

At the beginning of the 19th century, many *Mbayá* moved to the region south of the heights of Albuquerque (Coimbra) because its prairies remained dry during the rainy season. There they found pastures for their horses, abundant game which was driven in by the flood, and, in the swamps, innumerable fish and caimans. They moved their camps according to the annual rise and recession of the flood.

For many years the *Mbayá* used the rivalry between the Portuguese and Spaniards to obtain favors from both. The Portuguese, and later the Brazilians, recognizing the value of their allegiance, won them over by generous gifts of weapons, tools, and food, and later established regular commercial relations with them. The *Mbayá* traded skins and pottery for manufactured goods, and their chiefs received honorary commissions in the Brazilian Army. At the beginning of the 19th century the *Mbayá* renewed their hostilities against the Paraguayans.[3] During the dictatorship of Francia (1814–40), they attacked the Department and city of San Salvador and even threatened Concepción. The dictator, Lopez, built a chain of forts along the Apa River to bar their inroads. The *Mbayá-Caduveo* fought with the Brazilians in the Paraguayan war and raided the region of the Apa River, destroying the town of San Salvador.

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[3] According to Rengger (1835, pp. 335–340), the *Mbayá* lived for a long time between the Aquidabán-mi and the Apa Rivers, maintaining good relations with the Paraguayans. But as a result of an outrage which they suffered at the hands of an officer of Fuerte Olimpo, they resumed their war against the Paraguayans and forced them to evacuate all the region north of the Aquidabán-mi River. They again made peace, and some groups settled with their *Guaná* vassals on the Cangata River and near Villa-Real. Shortly afterward, hostilities broke out once more and the new *Mbayá* settlements were destroyed. Francia then established outposts on the Aquidabán-mi River, but in 1818 the *Mbayá* forced the Paraguayans to evacuate Tevego, 40 leagues from Concepción. After this victory they suffered only reverses at the hands of the Paraguayans, who were now familiar with their tactics, and put strong garrisons in the forts of San Carlos and Olimpo and stopped their inroads.

Until recently, the *Mbayá* occasionally raided other Indian tribes to capture slaves. Some of their war parties went as far as the upper Paraná River region, where they kidnapped *Cainguá* and *Caingang;* other expeditions were directed against the *Chamacoco* in the Chaco. Today their last remnants in the region of the Nabileque River are being rapidly assimilated into the Neo-Brazilian population.

Christianization of the Mbayá.—In 1609 Fathers Vicente Grifi and Roque González de Santa Cruz settled among a *Mbayá* band that lived opposite Asunción, on the Guazutinga River, and were instrumental in creating friendly relations between the Indians and the Spaniards. The mission of Santos Reyes Magos, dedicated in 1615, throve under Fathers Pedro Romero and Antonio Moranta, but several smallpox epidemics caused its rapid decline until, in 1626, it disappeared.

The Jesuits, who had never given up the hope of Christianizing the *Mbayá*, endeavored in 1760 to convert those who had invaded Paraguay. In the same year Father José Sánchez Labrador founded the mission of Nuestra Señora de Belen, at the mouth of the Ypané River. Science is indebted to him for a very detailed account of his work among the *Mbayá*, with a full description of their culture. The mission was abandoned soon after the expulsion of the Jesuits.

Population of the Mbayá.—The *Mbayá* bands against which Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca fought were said to consist of 4,000 warriors. Schmidel put the *Mbayá* army at 20,000! He said that in one village the Spaniards slaughtered 3,000 *Mbayá.* These figures are, of course, grossly exaggerated. A Jesuit document of 1612 puts the *Guaicurú* who lived opposite Asunción at 1,200 (Gandía, 1929, p. 146). Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 2:31), who had first-hand knowledge of all the *Mbayá* bands, estimated their total number at 7,000 to 8,000. Azara (1904, p. 376) sets the number of "pure" *Mbayá* at about 2,000. In 1803, 2,000 Indians in the region of Coimbra and Miranda were reckoned as "*Guaicurú,*" but 600 of them were *Guaná* and 400 were *Chamacoco* slaves. In the middle of the 19th century there were 3,600 Indians near Albuquerque in three villages, of which only one was inhabited by *Mbayá* (the *Guatiadeo* band). There were probably 500 other *Mbayá* near Miranda.

Subdivisions of the Mbayá.—The *Mbayá* were split into subtribes, which in turn were subdivided into bands, each with its own chief. These subgroups shifted during the 18th and 19th centuries. Their names generally were derived from some salient feature of their habitat, e. g., the *Mbayá* who settled in a region where the rhea abounded were named the People of the Rhea Country (*Apacachodegodegí*), the *Guetiadegodí* were the People of the Mountains, and the *Lichagotegodí* were the People of the Red Earth.

In the middle of the 18th century, the *Mbayá* bands extended in the basin of the Paraguay River from the Jejuy River (lat. 24° S.) to lat. 20° S. on the east side, and from lat. 21° S. to lat. 18° S. on the west side. The *Mbayá* subtribes still inhabiting the Chaco around 1767 were the *Cadiguegodí* and the *Guetiadegodí.*

The *Cadiguegodí* (*Catiguebo, Catibebo, Cadiguelguo*) are represented by the *Caduveo* of the Nabileque River, the only *Mbayá* group still in existence. In the middle of the 18th century, the *Cadiguegodí* were split into two large bands, having one name but two chiefs. About 1800 two *Caduveo* bands, with a total of 800 to 1,000 men, still lived in the Chaco near Fuerte Olimpo (lat. 21°5′ S.). Two other bands had migrated to the east side of the Paraguay River, one (500 people) living between the Apa and Ypané Rivers, and the other (300 people) near the range of the Nogona and Nebatena hills (lat. 21° S.). A few years later, the two *Caduveo* bands of Fuerte Olimpo, which numbered 300 and 380 respectively, settled near Coimbra in the Matto Grosso.

During the 19th century, the *Caduveo* ranged between the Rio Branco and the Miranda River, but the local ranchers seized part of their territory and made several attempts to exterminate them. At the beginning of the 20th century, the *Caduveo* were granted full possession of an area bounded on the north by the Nabileque River, on the west by the Paraguay River, on the south by the Aquidauana River, and on the east by the Serra Bodoquena and by the Niutaque River, a tributary of the Nabileque River. In 1937 the last *Caduveo*, totaling about 150, were divided among three settlements, the most important of which is Nalique. They are gradually being assimilated into the Brazilian rural population.

In the 18th century, the *Guetiadegodi* (*Gueteadeguo, Guatiadeo, Uatadeo, Ouaitiadeho, Ua-teo-te-uo, Oleo*), or "Bush Dwellers," were the northernmost *Mbayá* subgroup in the Chaco. Their territory was somewhat to the east of the *Chiquito* mission of Sagrado Corazon, on the Mandiy River. They often molested the *Chiquito* converts, who defeated them in 1763 and took a great many prisoners to the missions. In 1766 a *Guetiadegodi* band seceded to form an independent band under their former chief's brother. Aguirre (1911, p. 312) places them in 1793 at lat. 20°30′ S., east of the Paraguay River. They numbered about 500, and were then living on the banks of the Paraguay River, having abandoned their equestrian existence to become boatmen and fishermen. In the middle of the 19th century, their remaining groups had settled as farmers near Albuquerque.

The *Apacachodegodegi* (*Apacachodeguo, Apacatchudeho, Pacajudeus, Apacatsche-e-tuo*) roamed from the Jejuy River to the Apa River, but generally camped either near the Aquidabán-mi River or the Apa River. Until 1760 they frequently returned to their former habitat in the Chaco. These Indians were also called *Mbayá-mirim* (*Small Mbayá*) to distinguish them from the *Mbayá-guazú* (*Large Mbayá*) of the Chaco, and *Belenistas* because the mission of Nuestra Señora de Belen was founded among them. In 1793 they numbered about 600, and consisted of 7 small bands under a supreme chief. Today they have entirely disappeared.

The *Lichagotegodi* (*Ichagoteguo, Xaguetéo, Chagoteo*), or "People of the Red Earth," were concentrated in the region of the lower Apa River (lat. 22° or 21°30′ S.) somewhat west of the *Apacachodegodegi* and south of the Pão de Azucar. When they were missionized between 1769 and 1774, they numbered about 400.

The *Eyibogodegi* (*Echigueguo, Tehiguebo, Edjého, Ejueo, Enacagá*), or the "Hidden Ones," had one of their main camps near the Rio Branco, northeast of Pão de Azucar. This group, the largest *Mbayá* subtribe, consisted of three bands. In the middle of the 19th century, they were established near Albuquerque.

The *Gotocogegodegi* (*Guocotegodi, Ocoteguegue, Cotogudeo, Cotogeho, Cutugueo, Venteguebo*), or "Those of the Arrows Region," were a small group east of the *Eyibogodegi* in the hills at the headwaters of the Rio Branco. In 1793, they totalled about 200.

The *Beutuebo* (between lat. 21° and 20°40′ S.) mentioned by Azara (1809, 2:104) are the same as the *Beauquiechos* of Castelnau (1850–59, 2:479) who had lived near the Paraguayan border and later migrated to Miranda.

Abipón (*Mepene, Ecusgina, Callagaic, Quiabanaité, Frentones*).—Azara (1809, 2:164) and Kersten (1905, p. 32) identify the *Mepene* (*Mapenuss, Mapeni, Mepone*), a tribe of river pirates described by Schmidel (1903, p. 164), with the historical *Abipón*, whose name appears in the literature at the beginning of the 17th century. The *Mepene* lived somewhat to the south of the mouth of the Bermejo River in a region which, in the 17th and 18th centuries, was occupied by the *Abipón.* At that time the *Abipón* were not concerned with navigation, and nothing but a vague analogy in their respective names indicates a possible relationship between these two tribes. However, the name of one of the three *Abipón* subgroups, the *Yaaukanigá* (Water People), suggests that they may once have been canoe Indians and therefore identical with the *Mepene.* The *Yaaukanigá* were not originally an *Abipón* subtribe and even spoke a different language. It was only in the 17th century, after they had been defeated by the Spaniards, that the *Yaaukanigá* attached themselves to the *Abipón* and adopted their language.

The name *Callagaic* or *Callagá*, given to the *Abipón* by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, had no connection with the name *Gulgaissen*, which designated a tribe more to the south.

History of the Abipón.—The original habitat of the *Abipón* was along the northern banks of the lower Bermejo River. Their expansion toward the south began in the 17th century after they had acquired the horse either from Spanish ranchers or from the *Calchaquí.* The *Abipón* first attacked the *Matará,* whom they obliged to migrate from the Bermejo River toward the Province of Santiago del Estero. According to Lozano (1941, p. 97), they helped the *Calchaquí*[4] when the latter, who had been deported or had migrated from the Calchaquí Valley (Salta), arose to regain their liberty. In the beginning of the 18th century, the *Abipón* fought against the same *Calchaquí,* who had settled north of Santa Fé, until the smallpox epidemic of 1718 almost wiped them out. Then the *Abipón,* no longer hampered by their rivals, turned against the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé.

In the first half of the 18th century, the *Abipón,* together with *Mocoví* and *Toba,* ranged over a vast area bounded on the north by the middle and lower course of the Bermejo River, on the east by the Paraná River, on the south by the Spanish settlements of Santa Fé and on the west by those of Cósdoba and Santiago del Estero. Here the *Abipón* were continually moving from place to place. Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:4) writes, "The Abipones imitate skillful chess-players. After committing slaughter in the southern colonies of the Spaniards, they retire far northwards, afflict the city of Asunción with murders and rapine, and then hurry back to the south. If they have committed hostilities against the towns of the Guaranies, or the city of Corrientes, they betake themselves to the west. But if the territories of Santiago or Córdoba have been the objects of their fury, they cunningly conceal themselves in the marshes, islands, and reedy places of the river Paraná." In 1751, a party of *Abipón* entered the city of Santa Fé, killing and looting.

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[4] In 1665 Alonso de Mercado y Villacorta deported the Indians of the Calchaquí Valley to Buenos Aires. Lozano (1941, p. 96) states that these *Calchaquí* were different from those who lived on "ecomiendas" in the region of the Bermejo River. According to Del Techo and Lozano, *Calchaquí* had migrated into the Chaco to escape the oppression of the Spaniards. These refugees may have been those who rose against the Spaniards and formed an independent tribe north of Santa Fé about 1640. Two groups of *Calchaquí* near Santa Fé were the *Tocaque* and the *Colastiné.*

The first missionaries to visit the *Abipón* were the Jesuit Fathers Juan Fonte and Francisco de Angulo, who in 1591 baptized the children in the bands living near Concepción on the Bermejo River. In 1593 Fathers Alonso de Bárzana and Pedro de Añasco were sent to convert the *Matará* and the *Guaicuruan* tribes of the same region. Their missionary work lasted only 2 years and produced few results. However, Bárzana found time to write a grammar and a vocabulary of the *Abipón* language. In 1641 Fathers Juan Pastor and Gaspar Arqueyra made a brief sojourn amnog the *Abipón* of the Bermejo River.

The example of the *Mocoví* who had accepted Jesuit missionaries facilitated the conclusion of a peace treaty between the Spaniards and some of the *Abipón* bands. In 1748 the Jesuits founded the *Abipón* mission of San Jerónimo, which today is the prosperous city of Reconquista. The mission of Concepción was established in 1749 on the Inespin River and was later transferred to the junction of the Río Dulce with the Río Salado. San Fernando was built in 1750 on the Río Negro at the place of the present city of Resistencia. Timbó, or Rosario, on the Paraguay River (lat. 26°32′ S., long. 58°17′ W.), was inaugurated in 1763. The missionized *Abipón* were constantly harassed by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*.

The history of the *Abipón* after the expulsion of the Jesuits is somewhat confused. For many years they waged war against the *Toba* and *Mocovi*, who destroyed the missions of San Fernando and Timbó. In 1770 the *Abipón* of San Jerónimo and some other bands migrated to the eastern side of the Paraná River, at Las Garzas and Goya, to escape the inroads of the *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Some of the *Abipón* who had settled on the left bank of the Paraná River joined bands of marauders who were raiding the farms around Corrientes, Goya, and Vajada. *Abipón* warriors served under the famous leader, Artigas.

Little is known about the fate of the *Abipón* bands who even before the expulsion of the Jesuits had returned to the bush. Some of them tried to settle on their former territory on the Bermejo River, which had been occupied by the *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Rengger (1835, p. 343) speaks of constant skirmishes in which the *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, and *Toba* fought Paraguayan outposts. But, in spite of the continuous warfare along the frontier, the *Abipón* used to visit Asunción to dispose of the cattle stolen in the south. The advance of the military posts in the Chaco during the 19th century restricted their hunting grounds and made life more difficult for them, forcing numerous bands into submission. Many *Abipón* were slaughtered and others were absorbed into the Creole population. In 1858 there were still some *Abipón* in a reduction called Sauce, between Santa Fé and Córdoba (Lafone-Quevedo, 1896 d, p. 59). It is not altogether impossible that some more or less pureblooded *Abipón* may still be found in the Chaco santafecino.

Population of the Abipón.—About 1750 the *Abipón* tribe consisted of three large subgroups: The *Nakaigetergehè* (Forest People), the *Riikahè* (People of the Open Country), and the *Yaaukanigá* (Water People). According to Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:106), the whole tribe numbered about 5,000. The population decreased rapidly after contact with the Spaniards. In 1767 there were 2,000 *Abipón* distributed in the four Jesuit missions.

Mocoví (*Mocobí*, *Mosobiae*, *Mogosnae*, *Amókebit*, *Frentones*).—The original home of the *Mocoví* was probably the plains between the upper Bermejo River and the Río Salado, near the *Toba*, their close relatives and frequent allies.

In the 17th century they are frequently listed among the "wild Indians" who roamed along the borders of the Province of Tucumán. At the beginning of the

17th century, when the *Abipón* acquired horses, the *Mocoví* showed signs of unrest. They participated in the destruction of Concepción on the Bermejo River (1632), and their raids threatened the settlers of Esteco (1662), Tucumán, Salta (1709), Santiago del Estero, and Córdoba. Parties of *Mocoví* or *Abipón* forced the inhabitants of the first Santa Fé to move their city in 1662 to its present location. The *Mocoví* were probably responsible for the flights of the *Lule* and of the *Malbalá* toward the Spanish frontier.

Pushed westward by the Esteban Urizar expedition (1710), the *Mocoví* raided toward the east and the south. They repeatedly attacked Santa Fé or its surroundings. Although the governor of Santa Fé, Francisco Javier de Echagüe y Andia, made peace with them in 1743, these marauding bands continued their depredations. In the same year, a Jesuit, Francisco Burgés, gathered a few *Mocoví* in a mission dedicated to San Francisco Xavier. He was succeeded by Father Florian Baucke, who wrote a detailed account of his experiences among the *Mocoví*. The establishment prospered and its population was increased by several bands under their respective chiefs. The Jesuits provided the Indians with cattle and made great efforts to turn them into sedentary agriculturists. Another *Mocoví* mission, San Pedro, was founded in 1765 on the Ispin-chico River, a tributary of the Saladillo River. Several *Mocoví* bands were gathered by the Franciscans in the mission of Nuestra Señora de los Dolores y Santiago de Lacangayé on the Bermejo River (1780).

In the middle of the 18th century, the total number of *Mocoví* was estimated to be two to three thousand. A popular chief was able to assemble a band numbering as many as 600 people. After the Jesuit expulsion in 1767, the two missions declined rapidly, but in 1785 San Xavier still had 1,049 Indians and San Pedro 638.

During the last part of the 18th century, the *Mocoví* of the missions were often at war with the *Abipón* of San Jerónimo, and these tribes attacked each other's villages. The White settlers were not spared, and the Province of Santa Fé was again exposed to the depredations of the Indian horsemen. The latter, however, were not as dangerous as they had been earlier in the century, when they seriously threatened communications between Buenos Aires and Perú.

A few hundred *Mocoví* still exist in the southern Chaco, near the Bermejo River. Most of them have sought refuge in the "Colonía" Napalpi, near Quitilipi.

Toba (*Tocoytus*, *Natekebit*, *Natákebit*, *Nactocovit*, *Ntocouit*, *Ntokowit*, *Yncanabacte*, *Toco'ít*, *Takshik*, *Frentones*).—The *Toba* lived principally in the region between the lower Pilcomayo and Bermejo Rivers, but until the end of the 19th century some bands roamed south of the Bermejo River as far as the Provinces of Santa Fé and Santiago del Estero. The Río Salado has consequently often been regarded as their southern limit. They were in possession of most of the lower Bermejo River from the ancient mission of San Bernardo to its mouth; but other *Toba* bands lived on the upper course of this river, in the region of Centa (now Oran) and along the San Francisco River. At the end of the 18th century some *Toba* bands moved north of the Pilcomayo River and settled near the headwaters of the Yabebirí River. Some penetrated the northern Chaco as far as the mission of San Ignacio de Zamucos (1741), which they attacked. The *Toba* in Paraguayan territory north of the Pilcomayo are often called *Toba-miri* (*Small Toba*) by the Paraguayans, while those of the Argentine (the *Takshik*) are known as the *Toba-guazú* (*Big Toba*).

The lower course of the Pilcomayo River from Salto Palmar to the Paraguay River is, or was, *Toba* territory. Small *Toba* groups are scattered from the lower Pilcomayo River to the Bermejo River. On the latter their western limit passes near the junction of the Teuco River with the ancient course of the Bermejo River. There are also *Toba* settlements south of the Bermejo near General Pinedo, but their exact limit cannot be ascertained since they are rapidly disappearing or are being assimilated into the Mestizo population of the Chaco. A large number of *Toba* are concentrated in the mission of San Francisco Solano (Taccagalé), near the mouth of the Pilcomayo River, and in the mission of Laishi (Formosa). The *Toba* of the Territory of Formosa call themselves *Ntocouit* or *Nactocovit*, but they are known as *Takshik* by the southern *Toba.*

On the middle Pilcomayo River, north of the Estero Patiño, there is a group of *Toba* now concentrated in the evangelical mission of Sombrero Negro. These Indians claim the name of *Toba* and regard themselves as different from the *Pilagá*, who live downstream in the region of the Estero Patiño, though actually both groups are closely related by blood ties and are hardly distinguishable. There are, however, slight dialectical differences between their languages (the upstream *Toba* use the *h* where the downstream Indians use *s*).

During the last century there were still important groups of *Toba* on the upper Pilcomayo River from Cavayurepotí (about lat. 22° S.) to the *Chiriguano* mission of Macharetí. Until 1932 a quarter of the mission was reserved for the *Toba* who were adopting the *Chiriguano* language and culture.

Nowadays some *Toba* work as peons in the lumber camps of Puerto Pinasco and Puerto Casado.

History of the Toba.—The first attempts to convert the *Toba* were made in 1591 by Fathers Bárzana and Añasco, who traveled to them from Concepción. Father Bárzana's *Toba* vocabulary and grammar still is a useful document.

The *Toba* of the lower Pilcomayo and Bermejo Rivers received the horse during the 17th century and, like the *Abipón* and *Mocoví*, became a vagabond tribe of mounted warriors. The *Toba* south of the Bermejo River directed most of their raids against the Tucumán frontier. Some *Toba* bands of the Pilcomayo region struck as far north as the *Zamuco* mission of San Ignacio.

The short-lived mission of San Xavier, founded in 1673, near Esteco, contained mostly *Toba.* In 1756, 212 *Toba* (*Dapicosique* or *Tapicosique*) were gathered in the Jesuit mission of San Ignacio on the Ledesma River (originally on the Sora River);[6] the settlement was abandoned in 1818.

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[6] In 1767 the mission of San Ignacio had a population of about 600 Indians, most of them *Toba.*

In 1762 the Jesuits founded another *Toba* mission, San Juan Nepomuceno, but a feud with the Indians of Valbuena soon led to its destruction. In 1780 the Franciscans, aided by Spanish military forces under Francisco Gavino Arias, established the mission of San Bernardo el Vértiz[6] on the middle Bermejo River with 500 *Toba*. The *Toba* of the upper and lower Pilcomayo River were Christianized by the Franciscans during the second half of the 19th century. In 1884–85 the *Toba* were partly pushed back to the Bermejo River by the expedition of General Victorica.

In 1916 and again in 1924, the Argentine Army had to put down an armed rebellion of the *Toba*, who had been driven to desperation by the encroachments of settlers on their last territories.

The *Toba* are still regarded by their Mestizo neighbors as a proud people who refuse to yield to servitude and are always ready to avenge an insult. The exploration of the Pilcomayo River was hampered by their resistance. In 1882 they killed the French explorer Crevaux, and in 1889, the Argentine geographer Ibarreta.

Population of the Toba.—In the 18th century, the Jesuits reckoned the total number of the *Toba* at 20,000 to 30,000. Those living on the Bermejo River were estimated at 4,000 to 5,000.

Cocolot.—The *Cocolot* were probably not a tribe but a group of *Toba* bands called by a name which was also applied to the *Mbayá* and to the *Lengua* (*Macá*).

Aguilot (*Abaguilot*).—The *Aguilot* were a *Guaicuruan* tribe—perhaps a subtribe of the *Toba*—who lived on both sides of the middle Bermejo River. According to Lozano (1941, p. 326), when they heard of the Urizar expedition in 1709, they abandoned their territory to join the *Mocoví* north of Santa Fé. Together these tribes repeatedly attacked the Spanish settlements. According to Azara (1809, 2:162), they migrated toward the Pilcomayo River about 1790, where they joined forces with the *Pilagá*, by whom they were absorbed during the 19th century. In the middle of the 18th century, they numbered about 1,000; 50 years later they could muster only 100 warriors (i. e., about 500 people).

Pilagá (*Pitilagá*, *Yapitalagá*, *Zapitalagá*, *Pitelahá*, *Pitaleaes*, *Aî*, *Guacurure.*)—The *Pilagá* are the only remaining tribe of the Argentine Chaco that has retained a predominantly aboriginal culture.

At the end of the 18th century, Azara (1809, 2:160) located them near the Pilcomayo River, in a region of lagoons which is probably the Estero Patiño, their present habitat. On the basis of flimsy historical and cartographic evidence, Kersten (1905, p. 40) assumes that they had migrated sometime during the second half of the 18th century from the middle Bermejo River to the Pilcomayo River. It is more likely that the *Pilagá* were listed among the tribes of the eastern bank of the Bermejo River merely because their territory extended toward that river, as it still did not long ago.

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[6] The mission of San Bernardo was abandoned in 1793.

In 1932 the *Pilagá* bands ranged across the marshy region of the Estero Patiño from Salto Palmar (Fortín Leyes) in the east to Buena Vista (Media Luna or Fortín Chavez) in the west. To the north their territory was bounded by the Pilcomayo River, and its southern limit corresponded more or less with the railway line from Formosa to Embarcación. Their main bands were concentrated under Cacique Garcete near Salto Palmar, and under Lagadik, near Fortín Descanso. Several other bands had taken refuge among the *Toba* of the Protestant mission of Sombrero Negro, on the Pilcomayo River. In 1936, harassed by the Mestizo settlers and the gendarmery, most of the *Pilagá* placed themselves under the protection of the South American Missionary Society and formed an independent village at Laguna de los Pajaros, about 20 miles east of Sombrero Negro. Unfortunately, the mission was abandoned in 1940, and the *Pilagá* returned to the vicinity of Fortín Descanso, where doubtless they will soon die out. Some of them agreed to live in the new colonias, Javier Muñiz and Florentino Ameghino, founded by the Argentine Government.

Population of the Pilagá.—Azara (1809, 2 : 161) put the adult male *Pilagá* population at 200, a figure far too low, for in 1930 the tribe numbered more than 2,000 people. After 1932, a smallpox epidemic and repeated punitive expeditions decimated the *Pilagá.* Tuberculosis and venereal diseases are also contributing to the decline of this once powerful and energetic tribe.

Payaguá (*Agaz*, *Cadiguè*, *Sariguè*, *Siacuás*).—Since the beginning of the conquest of Paraguay, the *Payaguá* are described as bold river pirates who, in their long and swift dugout canoes, sailed the Paraguay River from the Xarayes marshes to the Paraná River. They even descended the Paraná River to the vicinity of Santa Fé and ascended it to Salto Chico.

The *Payaguá* were divided into two main groups. The northern group, the *Cadigué* or *Sarigué* (who had three camps in the region of Itapucu), lived at about lat. 21°5′ S. The southern group, the *Magach*, *Tacumbú*, or *Siacuás* (*Sigaecoas*), were at lat. 25°17′ S. In 16th-century Spanish accounts, the southern *Payaguá* are designated as *Agaz* (*Agaces*) and the northern as *Payaguá*.

History of the Payaguá.—The *Payaguá* have a long record of hostility against the Spaniards and Portuguese. In 1527 they attacked Cabot's ship. In 1539, they massacred Juan de Ayolas and his party near the Cerro San Fernando (lat. 20° S.). During the 17th and 18th centuries, they infested the Paraguay River, boarding merchant launches and raiding villages. They were a particular threat to the Portuguese of Matto Grosso traveling from São Paulo to Cuyabá. After their alliance with the *Mbayá*, the *Payaguá* became even more dangerous. They occupied the islands of the Paraguay River and even had a fortified village opposite the mouth of the Jejuy River.

Twice (1703 and 1715) the Jesuits made unsuccessful attempts to convert the *Payaguá*. These Indians kidnapped Father Barthelemey de Blende and finally killed him. In 1717 they murdered two other Jesuit missionaries (Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, 1819, 5: 112, ff.).

In 1740 the southern *Payaguá* agreed to settle in Asunción.[7] The northern groups joined them in 1790, and they resided for almost a century in a special section of the city. They retained their ancient customs for a long time, but lived on good terms with their Spanish neighbors, to whom they sold pots, clothes, fish, and fodder for animals.

In 1800 their number was recorded as about 1,000; in 1820, 200; today they are completely extinct.

Guachí (*Guachie*, *Guachicas*, *Guajie*, *Guacharapos*, *Guarapayo*, *Guasarapo*, *Guajarapo*, *Guajnie*, *Guaichaje*, *Bascherepo*, *Guaxarapo*).—This tribe of river pirates, traders, and fishermen is mentioned several times in the chronicles and documents concerning the discovery of the upper Paraguay River. In the 18th century, they lived on the northern side of the Mondego (Miranda) River and in the "cañadas" formed by the heights of the Serrania de Amambay, and, like the *Guaná* (see below), were vassals of the *Mbayá*. They were divided into a few "capitanias" (probably bands) and, though canoe Indians, had permanent villages and fields where they grew maize, sweet potatoes, gourds, and tobacco. They wove beautiful striped blankets which were much in demand among the *Mbayá*. About 1800 their able-bodied warriors numbered only 60 (Azara, 1809, 2: 80). According to Castelnau (1850–59, 2: 468), in the middle of the past century they were almost extinct. Their name appears for the last time in 1860 in an official document which refers to their presence near Miranda. The linguistic relationship of the *Guachí* is discussed on p. 214.

Mahoma.—Sixteenth- and seventeenth-century documents and chronicles mention a tribe called *Mahoma* (*Hohoma*) who lived on the lower Bermejo River, around the Laguna de las Perlas (identified with Laguna Blanca by Domínguez, 1925, p. 185). These Indians, harassed by their neighbors, settled in the village of San Ignacio-guazú. Originally, the *Mahoma*, whose linguistic affinities are unknown, numbered 800 families. Around 1752 only 15 or 16 remained, and today they are completely extinct. Judged from their location, they might have been related to the *Toba* or the *Mocoví*.

THE MASCOIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

The *Mascoian* or *Machicuyan* group, formerly known as *Enimagá*, is composed of the following tribes which speak scarcely differentiated dialects: *Mascoi*, *Kaskihá* (*Guaná*), *Sapukí*, *Sanapaná*, *Angaité*, and *Lengua.*

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[7] Even after they had been settled in Asunción, the *Payaguá* remained somewhat nomadic. They frequently left Asunción to live at Ñeembucu, Tapuá, or near Villa de San Pedro on the Jejuy River, or at Villa-Real. (See Rengger, 1835, p. 137.)

Mascoi.—The *Mascoi* (*Machicuy*, *Cabanatith*, *Tujetge*) seem to have been a tribe of the Pilcomayo region that migrated northward after the *Guaicurú-Mbayá* had vacated the region opposite Asunción to establish themselves in Paraguay. About 1800 the *Mascoi* were concentrated on the Araguay-guazú River, but some of their bands ranged in the interior as far as the region of Chiquitos. They were divided into 19 bands, all listed by Azara (1809, 2 :155). They could muster from 800 to 1,200 warriors, some on foot, the others on horseback. The modern *Lengua* are undoubtedly the descendants of the 18th-century *Mascoi.*

Kaskihá.—The *Kaskihá* (formerly known as *Guaná*, but not to be confused with the *Arawakan*-speaking *Guaná*) now live near Puerto Sastre, on Riacho Yacaré and by Cerrito, but their aboriginal habitat was farther west in the interior of the Chaco, 80 leagues northwest of Puerto Casado. About 1880 they were a fairly large tribe, but they have dwindled to about 1,000 today.

Sapukí and Sanapaná.—The *Sapukí* (*Sapuqui*) live somewhat inland from the Paraguay River, south of the *Kaskihá;* the *Sanapaná* (*Kyisapang*) are located south of Puerto Sastre on the Río Salado and on the Galván River. In recent years, according to Belaieff (1941), they were found from Laguna Castilla to the vicinity of Puerto Casado.[8]

Angaité.—Immediately to the south of the last-mentioned tribes are the *Angaité*, whose habitat at the end of the 19th century extended from San Salvador to Puerto Casado. Today they have 16 “tolderias” (camps) near Puerto Pinasco and a few more scattered in the same area (e. g., Station Km. 80).

Lengua.—The *Lengua* (not to be confused with the *Lengua-Enimagá* or *Macá*) range along the western bank of the Paraguay River from Puerto Pinasco to the Montelindo River and westward to Palo Blánco and Campo de Esperanza in the Mennonite country, viz., from lat. 22°30′ to 24° S. and inland about 150 miles (240 km.) from the Paraguay River. They are split into 10 main bands.[9] Part of the *Lengua* have lived since 1887 under British missionaries in various stations, the most important of which is Makthlawaiya. The description of the *Lengua* by Grubb (1913), one of their missionaries, is an outstanding source on modern Chaco ethnography. Today the entire *Lengua* population is estimated at 2,300.

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[8] Hassler (1894, p. 351) has a brief reference to a group which he calls *Cuximanopana*, and says they are closely related to the *Guaná* and *Sanapaná*. These Indians, whose name does not appear in any other source, lived between the latter tribes along the western side of the Paraguay River.

[9] According to Belaieff (1941, p. 23), a *Lengua* subtribe which lives on the Mosquito River from its headwaters to a point 12 miles (20 km.) from Puerto Casado, is called *Toba* by the Paraguayans and *Kilyetwaiwo* by their Indian neighbors.

Unidentified tribes of the Mascoi region.—Several documents of the 16th century (Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca, 1852, pp. 565–566) refer to Indian tribes living in the Chaco near the ancient *Guaicurú*. These were the *Guatata*, on the lower Pilcomayo River, and their neighbors, the *Nohaague*, *Empirú*, and *Yaperú* (*Apirú*), whose exact habitat cannot be determined except that they lived on the western side of the Paraguay River, not far from Asunción. The *Yaperú* were probably the same as the *Naperú*, who dwelt west of Cerro San Fernando (lat. 20° S.), 40 leagues inland. It is possible that these various names apply to bands of the *Mascoian* family (Moreno, 1921) or to ancient *Guaná* (*Arawakan*) subgroups.

THE LULE-VILELAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

Scant information is available on the *Lule-Vilela*-speaking Indians. Their subtribes or bands ranged between the Bermejo River and the Río Salado during the 17th and 18th centuries, but most of them vanished during the next hundred years.

Father Antonio Machoni published in 1732 an "Arte y vocabulario de la lengua Lule y Tonocoté," based on the *Lule* dialect spoken in the mission of San Esteban de Miraflores. The title implies that the *Lule* of Miraflores were linguistically related to the *Tonocoté*, who, according to several 16th-century documents, inhabited the plains of Tucumán, Esteco, and Santiago del Estero.

According to Father Machoni, the *Lule* or *Tonocoté* language was spoken by five tribes: the *Lule*, *Isistiné*, *Touquistiné*, *Oristiné*, and the *Tonocoté* proper. All of these except the *Tonocoté* formerly lived in the region of Esteco and along the Río Salado. These tribes were the *Lule* whom Father Bárzana Christianized at the end of the 16th century and who, at the beginning of the 17th century, fled beyond the Río Salado into the Chaco to escape the Spanish "encomiendas." In 1710 they surrendered to Esteban de Urizar and agreed to settle in Jesuit missions. Machoni also states that about 60,000 *Tonocoté* were first concentrated in the region of Concepción on the Bermejo River, but later migrated north to the lower Pilcomayo and Yabebirí Rivers when Spanish oppression became intolerable.

It is obvious that Machoni has confused the *Tonocoté*-speaking *Matará* (p. 232) of Concepción with the *Tonocoté* proper who, it is well known, were the inhabitants of the plains of Tucumán and Santiago del Estero.

The migration of the *Lule* from Esteco to the Chaco is substantiated by a document of 1690 published by P. Cabrera, (1911, pp. 44–45).

The linguistic identification of the *Lule* of Miraflores with the ancient *Tonocoté* was challenged by Hervás (1800–1805, 1:173–76), Lafone-Quevedo (1894), and others. But, as the *Tonocoté* grammar written by Father Bárzana around 1586 has been lost and was unknown to Machoni, there is no way of confirming or disproving the latter's contention on linguistic grounds. It seems probable, however, that the *Toconoté* and *Lule*,[10] who are often differentiated in ancient documents, belonged to two different families. (See Bárcena, 1885, p. liv.) From the cultural viewpoint, it seems that the sedentary *Tonocoté* or *Juri*, as they are sometimes called, had little in common with the *Lule*, who were a typical Chaco tribe. The archeological material found in the territory formerly occupied by the *Tonocoté* does not bear the slightest resemblance to the pottery or other artifacts used by the Chaco Indians. Therefore, the *Tonocoté* were either the carriers of the La Candelaria culture or perhaps—as Canals Frau suggested (1940 b)—the builders of the so-called "Civilization of the Chaco santiagueño." These people are described in Volume 2.

The northern and eastern part of the *Tonocoté* territory seems to have been overrun during the 16th century by bands of wild Indians, probably the *Lule*, whose decendants were Christianized by Machoni in his mission of Miraflores.

In the beginning of the 17th century, a tradition arose among the Spanish settlers of a vast migration of *Tonocoté* into the interior of the Chaco. Thus, in 1630 Father Gaspar Osorio speaks of the *Tonocoté* as a powerful tribe of the interior of the Chaco; the same legend is echoed by Lozano. The presence of *Matará* on the Bermejo River seems good evidence of such a migration. Not unlikely, the *Matará* entered the Chaco after the Conquest, and their migration formed the basis for the rumor about the *Tonocoté* tribe lost in the wilderness. The *Matará* were isolated in a region otherwise occupied entirely by *Guaicuruan* tribes whose culture was far lower than their own.

The Lule.—The loose usage of the term *Lule* in documents dealing with the Conquest and Christianization of the plains of Tucumán and Salta has caused great confusion in the tribal nomenclature of the Argentine Chaco.

According to Del Techo (1673, bk. 1, ch. 39; bk. 2, ch. 20) there were two kinds of *Lule*: the sedentary *Lule*, who lived in a "mountainous" region, and the nomadic *Lule*, who, "like Arabs," roamed the plains of Tucumán and Salta, harassing the peaceful *Tonocoté* farmers. The mountain *Lule* are said to have understood three languages: *Quechua*, *Tonocoté*, and *Cacan*, but are listed separately from the *Diaguita*. Boman (1908, 1:57) considers them a *Diaguita* tribe, but more recent authors do not admit a difference between the two kinds of *Lule* and identify both of them with the *Lule* of the mission of Miraflores. (See Canals Frau, 1940 b, pp. 230–232.) The *Lule* were probably a Chaco tribe that invaded the plains along the foothills of the Andes and partially destroyed the builders of the La Candelaria culture. In the 16th century, the limits of the *Lule* seems to have been: To the north, the Valley of Jujuy; to the west, the chain of the pre-Cordillera; to the south, the basin of the Sali River; and to the east, long. 63° W.

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[10] Father José Tiruel writing in 1602 about Bårzana says that he learned "la lengua Tonomoté y Lule" (quoted by G. Fúrlong (1941, p. 10)).

The *Lule* Christianized by Father Antonio Machoni were often called *Big Lule* to distinguish them from the *Small Lule*, a generic term for the *Isistiné*, *Toquistiné*, and *Oristiné*, with whom the *Big Lule* were at odds. In 1710 the *Lule*, probably frightened by the expedition of Esteban de Urizar and by the constant raids of the *Toba* and *Mocoví*, agreed to settle near the Fort of Valbuena. They were placed under the care of Father Machoni, who founded there the first mission of San Esteban, which in 1714 was transferred to the Río Salado (Pasaje or Juramento River), and was henceforward known as San Esteban de Miraflores. A raiding party of Chaco Indians destroyed the mission in 1728, and the Jesuits moved closer to the Spanish frontier but, still exposed to the attacks of the Chaco tribes, they finally brought the *Lule* to Tucumán (1737). When the danger had subsided, they restored San Esteban de Miraflores on the Río Salado and settled there with the *Big Lule* and some 30 *Omoampa* families.

The *Isistiné* and *Toquistiné*, who formerly lived to the northeast of Valbuena, were gathered in 1753 in the mission of San Juan Bautista de Valbuena, also on the Río Salado.

When the Jesuits were expelled from America, Miraflores had 800 Indian neophytes and Valbuena about 850; the total number of the *Lule* was about 1,600 in the 18th century.

The *Oristiné* were "lost" in the Chaco, and their name never appears in later Jesuit relations.

References on the Lule.—Boman, 1908, 1: 43–58; Cabrera, 1911; Camaño y Bazán, 1931, pp. 321, 333–336; Canals Frau, 1940 b, pp. 230–232; Charlevoix, 1757, 4: 250–255, 262–274, 306–314; G. Fúrlong, 1941; Hervás, 1800–1805, 1: 171–172; Lafone-Quevedo, 1894, 1895 a; Luzano, 1941, pp. 89–103; Serrano, 1940 e.

Vilela.—The *Vilela* branch included the following subgroups (parcialidades): *Vilela* proper, *Chunupí*, *Sinipé*, *Pasain* (*Pazain*), *Atalalá*, *Omoampa* (*Umuampa*), *Yoconoampa* (*Yucunampa*), *Vacaa* (Those of the Excrements), *Ypa* (*Hipo*, "Those Who Live in a Hole"), *Ocolé* (The Foxes), *Yecoanita* (The Archers), *Yooc*, (*Yoo*), *Guamalca*, and the *Taquete*.

That several *Vilelan* parcialidades were, like the *Mataco* and *Pilagá* bands, named after animals, character traits, or objects, suggests that they were mere bands either of the *Vilela* proper or of the *Chunupí*.

In the 17th century, the *Vilelan* bands were scattered on both sides of the Bermejo River, from Esquina Grande to San Bernardo. About 1630 the Jesuits already knew of their existence through the *Mataco* and *Toba*, but did not visit them. The territory of the *Vilela* was reached in 1671 by a Spanish expedition under Juan de Amusategui.

The *Vilela* proper were found by the Spaniards on the middle Bermejo River near Lacangayé in 1710.

They did not offer any resistance, but were disinclined to leave their country to accept Spanish rule. It was only in 1735 that the *Vilela*, who had been unjustly attacked by a Spanish military expedition, asked to be placed in a mission. The 1,600 *Vilela* who left the Chaco were entrusted to secular priests who established the larger part of them at San José on the Río Salado near Matará, and a few families at Chipeona, in the region of Córdoba. The mission, entirely neglected by the curates, declined rapidly, and would have disappeared if the Jesuits had not taken charge of the *Vilela*, and in 1761 transferred them to the new mission of San José, at Petacas on the Río Salado (Pasaje River), lat. 27° S. At that time the *Vilela* numbered only 416. In 1762, 300 *Vilela*, who had remained in the bush along the southern side of the Bermejo River, joined their relatives of Petacas. In 1767 there was near Lacangayé a group of about 100 *Vilela* who had formed part of the ephemeral mission of Nuestra Señora de la Paz (Valtoleme). Those in the mission of Petacas totaled 756.

In 1780 the *Vilela* of Petacas returned to the Chaco wilderness; for a century nothing is known about their fate. At the end of the 19th century, Pelleschi met the few surviving *Vilela* living with *Mataco* Indians, at Fort Gorriti, near Rivadavia, and obtained from them a short vocabulary which was published by Lafone-Quevedo (1895 a) with grammatical notes. At the beginning of the century, there were a few *Vilela* in the reservation of Quetilipí.

Pasain, *Omoampa*, *Yoconoampa*, *Atalalá*, *Ypa*.—These bands, all closely related, ranged near the marshes of the Río del Valle, a tributary of the Bermejo River, and east of the Río Salado (Pasaje River).

In 1763 Fathers Roque Gorostiza and José Jolis, while traveling along the right side of the Bermejo River, encountered four bands of *Vilela*, *Pasain*, *Vacaa*, and *Atalalá*, who were being pursued by a party of *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Under the circumstances the missionaries had no difficulty in collecting them in the mission of Macapillo (Nuestra Señora del Pilar). From an initial 150, the number of Indians in the mission increased to 600; but in 1767 only 200 remained as permanent neophytes (Muriel, 1918, p. 111; G. Fúrlong, 1939, pp. 128–129).

The several attempts by Father Andreu to Christianize the *Omoampa* were unsuccessful until 1751, when some *Omoampa* bands, who had seceded from the rest of the tribe and joined the *Isistiné*, decided to settle with the *Lule* in the mission of Miraflores. In 1763, 230 *Omoampa* of Miraflores were moved to the mission of Ortega (Nuestra Señora del Buen Consejo) to help in the conversion of the *Chunupí*, their close relatives.

In 1767 the Indians, mainly *Pasain* and *Omoampa*, in these two missions totaled about 400. One hundred *Vacaa* and *Atalalá* were quartered at Macapillo. Both missions contained also a few *Yeconoampa*, *Ypa*, and *Chunupí* families.

After the expulsion of the Jesuits, many *Pasain* returned to their native haunts, where some of their families had remained independent. The tribe disappeared during the 19th century.

Chunupí (*Chunipí*, *Chanupí*).—The *Chunupí*, whom Lozano (1941, p. 91) describes as peaceful foot Indians, were discovered on both sides of the middle Bermejo River during the campaign of Esteban de Urizar in 1710.

They agreed then to settle in missions, but never kept their promise. In 1759 they were found again by Father Richer, who served as chaplain of a Spanish expedition that killed a great many of them.

In 1762 Father Roque de Gorostiza, guided by *Omoampa* Indians, visited with Father Jolis the *Chunupi* villages on the left side of the Bermejo River, near La Encrucijada (40 leagues below the junction of the Bermejo and San Francisco Rivers). He succeeded in persuading 150 or 200 of these Indians to form a mission which was established on the Río Salado, first under the name of Nuestra Señora de la Paz (Valtoleme), and then transferred below the bend of the Río Salado (Pasaje River) at Ortega, where it was called Nuestra Señora del Buen Consejo. Three years later the *Chunupí*, who had quarreled with the Christianized *Omoampa* in the same mission, asked to be moved to the mission of Macapillo with the *Pasain*. After a fight with the latter, they returned to their former homes on the Bermejo River.

At the end of the 18th century, Spanish expeditions found the *Chunupi* on the right banks of the lower Bermejo from Esquina Grande to the mission of San Bernardo, where they lived with the *Malbalá* and *Sinipé* under a single chief.

In 1826 the explorer Pablo Soria found some *Chunupí* on the middle Bermejo below Esquina Grande. He states that they, like the *Mataco*, went to work for the Whites in the sugar plantations of Salta and Jujuy (Arenales, 1833, p. 253).

In the second half of the last century, the *Chunupí* were reported on the Paraná River opposite Corrientes. With the help of the *Toba*, they occasionally attacked trading boats. By 1876 they had been reduced to 252, and toward the end of the century the survivors eked out a precarious living selling curios and produce of the bush in Corrientes. Today they seem to be entirely extinct or to have been absorbed by the Mestizo population of the Chaco.

According to Father Gorostiza (G. Fúrlong, 1939, p. 118), the *Yooc* (*Yoo Guamalca*) and *Ocolé* were two bands of the *Chunupí* tribe. Both lived on the left side of the Bermejo, the former some "20 leagues" below the *Chunupí*, the latter across the Laguna Colma (Camaño y Bazán, 1931, p. 330). In 1767 the *Yooc* numbered 200, the *Ocolé* between 40 and 50.

The *Yecoanita* (*Yecomita*), probably a *Chunupí* band, lived between the *Chunupí* and the *Yooc*. They were no more than 30 in 1767.

Sinipé (*Sinipi*, *Signipé*, *Sivinipi*).—The name of these Indians is always listed with that of the *Chunupí*. They lived on the right side of the Bermejo River, somewhat to the north of Lacangayé.

References on the Vilela.—Ambrosetti, 1894 a; Arias, 1837; Cornejo, 1836; Fontana, 1881; Fúrlong C., 1939; 1941, p. 144; Lafone-Quevedo, 1895 a; Lozano, 1941, passim; Muriel, 1918, pp. 102–110.

TRIBES OF THE BERMEJO BASIN OF UNCERTAIN LINGUISTIC AFFILIATION

Malbalá.—The *Malbalá*, whose tongue is said to have differed from *Vilela*, *Lule*, *Mataco*, and *Toba* (Camañ y Bazán, 1931, p. 336), formed a linguistic enclave within a region otherwise inhabited entirely by

Lule-Vilelan groups. Driven by the *Mocoví* from their original home, farther to the west along the Valbuena River, the *Malbalá* migrated to the middle Bermejo River close to the *Chunupí*, with whom they maintained cordial relations (Lozano, 1941, pp. 88, 366).

Although regarded by the Spaniards as very warlike, the *Malbalá* offered no resistance to the Urizar expedition in 1710, and readily agreed to settle under Spanish control on the Valbuena River. The 400 families that left their homes for this purpose were deported to Buenos Aires, but most of them succeeded in escaping to the Chaco after killing their guards. Only a few families reached Buenos Aires, where they were allotted to an encomendero (Lozano, 1941, p. 381).

In 1750, 31 *Malbalá* families were placed under missionary care near Fort San Fernando on the Río del Valle, but soon fled into the bush, where they were attacked by the Spaniards. In 1757 many *Malbalá* were wantonly slaughtered by the garrison of San Fernando.

According to Camaño y Bazán (1931, p. 336), about 20 *Malbalá* families survived in 1757, scattered among the *Chunupí*, *Mocovi*, and *Mataco*. Some *Malbalá* resided in the mission of Macapillo, where their presence is still mentioned several years after the expulsion of the Jesuits. At the end of the 18th century, the Spanish explorers of the Bermejo River speak of independent *Malbalá*, somewhat to the north of the mission of San Bernardo (lat. 25° S.), who had united with *Chunupí* and *Sinipé* to form a single nation of about 400 persons. Their name fails to appear in later 19th-century sources.

Matará (*Amulalá*).—The *Matará*, whose original habitat was the lower Bermejo River, were probably related to the extinct *Tonocoté*, for Father Alonso Bárzana preached to them in the *Tonocoté* language, and the Jesuit relations repeatedly state that they spoke that language.

Don Alonso de Vera, founder of Concepción on the Bermejo River, settled 7,000 *Matará* in a new city called La Rioja. After the destruction of Concepción, the *Matará* were slowly driven to the south by their neighbors, the *Abipón*. Fathers Juan Pastor and Gaspar Cequeyra visited them in 1641 and were greatly shocked to find them almost pagan, though under the supervision of a curate. At that time, they lived 100 leagues away from Santiago del Estero. Like Father Bárzana, Father Pastor spoke with them in *Tonocoté*.

There were still 700 or 800 *Matará* in 1767, all serfs of the Urejola family of Santiago del Estero, and living in a town called Matará on the Río Salado (lat. 28°6′ S.). They had forgotten their original language and spoke *Quechua*.

References.—Charlevoix, 1757, 2: 411–413; Del Techo, 1897; 1: 187–193, 5: 151–152; Jolis, 1789, pp. 491–492; Serrano, 1938 a.

THE MATACOAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

The *Mataco-Macán* linguistic family extended in a solid block across the Chaco from the Andes almost to the Paraguay River, along the Pilcomayo River to its lower reaches, and along the Bermejo River to approximately long. 61° W.

The main tribes of this family are: The *Mataco* proper, the *Chorotí* (*Yofuaha*), the *Ashluslay* (*Chulupí*, not to be confused with the *Vilela*-speaking *Chunupí*), and the *Macá*.

Mataco.—The habitat of the *Mataco* proper (*Mataguayo*) has remained almost unchanged since the 18th century, when it was first possible to bound it with some accuracy. In 1767 the westernmost *Mataco* villages were scattered along the upper Bermejo, San Francisco, and Burruay Rivers. Some *Mataco* families had settled at Caiza, and in the missions of Rosario de las Salinas, Nuestra Señora de las Angustias de Centa, and San Ignacio de Ledesma. From Salinas to the Pilcomayo River the boundary skirted the first spurs of the Andes; there were, as today, *Mataco* villages along the Itiyuro River near the *Chané*. The Pilcomayo *Mataco* extended to the country of the *Toba*, in the region of Estero Patiño. On the Bermejo River, where a great many bands were concentrated, their territory began above the junction of the San Francisco and Bermejo Rivers and ended at Esquina Grande,[11] on the right side of the Bermejo River, but on the left bank *Mataco* villages were scattered all the way down to the *Toba* mission of San Bernardo (lat. 25°30′ S.).[12] The *Mataco* occupied the angle formed by the south side of the Bermejo River and the Río del Valle. In 1881 their territory is defined by Fontana as follows:

> From the Campos of Agusirenda or Angostura del Itiyuro, 120 leagues down the Bermejo River, and from Oran or Laguna Verde to the Pilcomayo. Their main villages were located along the Bermejo, Teuco, Yegua, and Quemada Rivers.

A list of *Mataco* bands is given by Lozano (1941, p. 81), but their names do not suggest those of modern bands, which are called after animals, objects, or character traits. Lozano's subgroups (parcialidades) were probably named for influential chiefs.

In the 19th century, the northwestern *Mataco*, who dwelt along the foothills of the Andes between the Cordillera de Pirapo, the Pilcomayo, the Piquirenda, and Itiyuro Rivers, were generally called *Nocten* (*Octenai*.) The term *Vejos* (*Wejwos*, probably the same as *Hueshuos*), which has replaced the now obsolete *Mataguayo*, is a derogatory nickname applied to the *Mataco* of the region of Oran and Embarcación. The *Mataco*, who have scores of villages on the right bank of the Pilcomayo from lat. 23° S. down to Puerto Irigoyen (Fortín Linares), are called *Guisnay* (*Güisnai*). The river *Mataco* refer to inland groups as the "Forest Dwellers" (in Spanish, "Montaraces").

History of the Mataco.—The *Mataco* were discovered in 1628 by the expedition of Ledesma, which led to the founding of Guadalcázar. They were visited the same year by Father Gaspar Osorio, who estimated their number to be about 30,000. In 1635, Jesuit missionaries remained for a while in a *Mataco* village near the Bermejo River hoping to induce the Indians to form a mission, but the *Mataco* evidenced little disposition to become Christian and even plotted the death of the fathers, who returned to Jujuy.

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[11] According to Camaño y Bazán (1931, p. 333), at La Encrucijada below the junction of the Bermejo River with the Jujuy River.

[12] The region between La Encrucijada and San Bernardo was a no-man's land.

In the second half of the 17th century, the *Mataco*, formerly reputed to be a peaceful tribe, became restless and advanced toward the Spanish frontier. Probably they were pressed from behind by other *Mataco* tribes (*Guisnay* or *Chorotí*) who, in turn, had been driven toward the west by some *Guaicurú* tribe. A Spanish expedition in 1671, under Amusategui, subdued the most menacing *Mataco* bands. A period of peace followed these conflicts, and, during the first half of the 18th century, many *Mataco* went to work, as they do nowadays, for the Whites of Salta and Jujuy as lumberjacks or on the sugar plantations.

In 1756 the mission of San Ignacio was founded on the Ledesma River for the *Toba* and *Mataco*. The Franciscans who soon succeeded the Jesuits were unable to prevent conflict between the two tribes, and in 1779 formed a new mission, Nuestra Señora de las Angustias de Centa, exclusively for the *Mataco*. But this mission declined rapidly after the foundation of Oran, in 1794, whose inhabitants had sworn to exterminate the Indians. In order to save the neophytes, the Franciscans transferred part of them to the short-lived missions of Zaldua (1800) and Río Seco (1802 to 1806) on the Bermejo River. In 1810 there were only 221 *Vejos* left in the mission of Centa. At the time of the expedition of D. Francisco Gavino Arias to the Chaco (1781), about 1,000 *Mataco* of the Bermejo River were Christians, many of whom were settled in San Bernardo with the *Toba*.

During the 19th century, the *Mataco* of the Bermejo area fell under the domination of colonists, whose harsh treatment caused some of them to attack Colonia Rivadavia in 1863. This rebellion was used to justify a massacre of the *Mataco* which left only 3,000 in this region in 1872.

Today the *Mataco* are still numerous in the region of Embarcación, along the Pilcomayo River from the Itiyuro River to Puerto Irigoyen and around the railway station of Las Lomitas. Many bands are concentrated in the Protestant missions of El Algarrobal, El Yuto, San Patricio, and San Andrés. Some occupy a reservation of their own along the Pilcomayo River and other bands are in government colonies.

Many *Mataco* make a living as lumberjacks and all of them migrate annually to the sugar plantations of Jujuy and Salta. They are rapidly merging with the Mestizo population of the Chaco, and their acculturation is greatly facilitated by their eagerness to become assimilated. Their number at the end of the 19th century was estimated at about 20,000.

Agoyá, Tayni, and Teuta.—According to Father Gaspar Osorio (Lozano, 1941, p. 172), the *Agoyá*, *Tayni* (*Taynoa*, *Tauni*), *Teuta*, and *Mataco*, whom he visited in 1628 in the region of the upper Bermejo, spoke related dialects. On the basis of this statement, Camaño y Bazán (1931, p. 333) classifies them in the *Matacoan* family in spite of Lozano's (1941, p. 81) statement to the contrary. According to Father Osorio, the *Agoyá* numbered 1,500; the *Teuta*, 4,500; and the *Tayni*, 20,000. Lozano (1941, pp. 80–81) lists 183 *Tayni* and 47 *Teuta* "pueblos." It is unlikely that such numerous tribes vanished suddenly in the 18th and 19th centuries to be replaced by *Mataco;* it must be assumed, therefore, that they were *Mataco* subgroups who later were known under other names or simply as *Mataco*.

Ojotá and Taño.—The *Ojotá* and *Taño* were two closely related tribes who, in the 17th century, lived near the town of Guadalcázar, near the junction of the Centa and Bermejo Rivers. Most of our information on them is contained in Lozano (1941), who distinguishes them both from the *Tayni* and the *Mataco*, who occupied the same area. Their language was different from *Toba* (Lozano, 1941, p. 239). Hervás (1800–1805, 1:164) includes the *Ojotá* among the *Mataco* subgroups, but is less certain about the *Taño.*

When Father Diego Ruiz visited the *Ojotá* and *Taño* in 1682, they were being raided by the *Chiriguano*, who kidnapped their women and children. They were also in great fear of the *Toba* and *Mocoví*. Insecurity made them eager to put themselves under Spanish protection in the mission in the valley of Centa, near Fort San Rafael. The following year a party of *Toba* and *Mocoví* attacked the mission, killing Fathers Antonio Salinas and Pedro Ortiz. The terrified *Ojotá* and *Taño* deserted the mission to defend their territory. In 1710 the Jujuy detachment of the Urizar expedition forced the *Ojotá* to settle near Fort Ledesma, from whence they were deported to Buenos Aires (Lozano, 1941, p. 352).

Palomo.—The *Palomo*, often mentioned by Lozano (1941, pp. 83, 177, etc.), were, according to Camaño y Bazán (1931, p. 333), a *Mataco* subgroup. Their exact location is uncertain but seems to have been somewhere on the right side of the middle Bermejo River, among or near *Vilelan* bands.

Hueshuos and Pesatupe.—The *Hueshuos* are obviously the modern *Vejos.* The affiliation of the *Pesatupe* to the *Matacoan* family is stated by Camaño y Bazán (1931, p. 333).

Chorotí (*Tsoloti*, *Soloti*, *Zolota*, *Yofuaha*, *Manuk*, *Maniuk*).—Their name under the form *Chorotí* and *Zolota* appears for the first time in Lozano (1941, pp. 59, 81), who also lists 18 of their bands.

In 1915 half of the *Chorotí*, whose total population was 2,500, lived on the Pilcomayo River near Fortín Guachalla. The remainder ranged along the Pilcomayo River up to Villamontes, between latitude 21°30′ and 22°30′ S., and a few families roamed inland 10 or 15 leagues from the river. In 1928 *Chorotí* camps were reported near La Esmeralda, Guachalla, and Galpón.

Ashluslay (*Chunupí*, *Chulupí*, *Choropí*, *Sówa*, *Sówuash*, *Suhin*, *Sotiagai*, *Sotegaraik*, *Etehua*, *Tapieté*).—The *Ashluslay* are known to the White settlers of the Chaco either as *Chulupí* (sometimes *Chunupí*) or as *Tapieté*, but to avoid confusing them with the *Chunupí* of the Bermejo River, who belong to the *Lule-Vilelan* linguistic family, or with the *Tapieté*, who are a different tribe (see below), it is more advisable to designate them as *Ashluslay*, a name first popularized by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 28; Rydén, 1935, p. 27).

The *Ashluslay* inhabit the plains north of the Pilcomayo River from Fortín Guachalla to the region of Esteros and the upper Río Confuso.

Some groups reached the Río Verde, but the bulk of the tribe was concentrated in the region of Fortín Muñoz.

The *Ashluslay* are first mentioned in the report of the Daniel Campos expedition from Bolivia to Paraguay, 1833. In 1908 and 1909, respectively, they were visited by two anthropologists, Hermann and Nordenskiöld. Subsequently, they have received only scant attention from anthropologists and travelers, though they have maintained their native culture almost intact until recent times. Early in this century, *Ashluslay* bands began to migrate every winter to the sugarcane plantations of the Argentine. Thus they obtained horses, cattle, and many other European goods. During the Bolivian-Paraguayan war, many of them, driven from their homes, were forced to take refuge in Argentina, where they were well received by their former enemies, the *Toba* and *Pilagá*, but were often in conflict with the Argentine Army. In these years the tribe, whose number was estimated by Nordenskiöld at 10,000 in 1909, has dwindled to only 3,000. A great many *Ashluslay* have settled in the missions of the Oblates of Mary, at San José de Esteros, San Leonardo (formerly Laguna Escalante), Imaculada Concepción (Guachalla), and Santa Teresita (Lopez de Filipis). Father W. Verwoort estimates the total number of *Ashluslay* in 1944 at about 15,000.

Lengua-Enimagá and the so-called Cochaboth family.—Until recent years there has been a great deal of uncertainty about the linguistic classification of the tribes living north of the lower Pilcomayo River. The term "Lengua" (meaning tongue), applied by the Spaniards to the Indians who wore flat labrets and thus looked as if they had two tongues, was mainly responsible for the confusion.

Using the information obtained by Father Francisco Amancio González, Azara (1809, 2: 148–154) and Aguirre (1911, pp. 292–296) speak of a *Lengua* tribe living north of the lower Pilcomayo River in the region formerly occupied by the ancient *Guaicurú*. He describes it as a once powerful nation which, at the end of the 18th century, verged on extinction. According to Amancio González, the male population was reduced to 120 men who resided in a missionary station or had taken refuge among their former enemies, the *Pilagá*. Azara, however, states that in 1794 only 22 *Lengua* remained.

The *Lengua* were called *Cochaboth* by the *Enimagá*, who used the same name for themselves; the *Toba* called them *Cocoloth;* and the *Mascoi*, *Quiese-manapen* (*Quiesmagpipo*). They called themselves *Ouajadgè* (*Jugad fechy*). A *Lengua* vocabulary collected by Father Amancio González and preserved by Aguirre (1911, pp. 328–335) fails to show any linguistic affinity between the *Lengua-Cochaboth* and the modern *Lengua*, who speak a *Mascoian* dialect. On the other hand, the relationship between Aguirre's *Lengua*, *Guentusé*, and *Enimagá* is obvious, and had already been stressed by Amancio González and Azara. Until recent years, the *Lengua-Cochaboth*, the *Guentusé*, and the *Enimagá* were merged into a single isolated linguistic family called either *Enimagá* or *Cochaboth* (Rivet, 1924; W. Schmidt, 1926).

Hunt (1915) was the first to notice that modern *Macá* (*Towothli*) is closely related to ancient *Enimagá*, *Lengua*, and *Guentusé*, which are known through a short vocabulary collected by Father Francisco Amancio González and incorporated in Aguirre's diary, and through a few words published by Demersay (1860, p. 445). Some years later Max Schmidt (1936 b, 1937 b), unaware of Hunt's discovery, also compared Aguirre's word list with a more recent *Macá* vocabulary and established their close relationship. There is no doubt, therefore, that the modern *Macá* are the same as the ancient *Enimagá* (*Imacá*, *Ini-macá*, *Imaga*) or *Lengua-Cochaboth*.

The *Macá* language as known through Belaieff's vocabularies and texts (1931, 1934, 1940) presents close affinities both with *Ashluslay* and *Mataco* (Métraux, 1942). As a matter of fact, the Jesuits in the 18th century already classified the *Macá* (*Enimagá*) among the *Mataco* bands of the middle Pilcomayo River. (See Camaño y Bazán, 1931, p. 332.) Brinton also placed them in the *Mataco* family.

Macá (*Enimagá*, *Eni-macá*, *Ini-macá*, *Toothle*, *Towothli*, *Etaboslé*, *Cochaboth*).—The original home of these Indians was south of the Pilcomayo River, somewhat southeast of the *Guismay* and other *Mataco* groups. Driven from this territory by the *Toba* and *Pilagá* they settled in the upper Río Verde region on a river called Etacametguischi near lat. 24°24′ S.—probably the Río Negro or the Aguarayguazú River. They were reputed to be fierce warriers who once kept the *Guaicurú* in subjection. According to Azara and Aguirre, at the end of the 18th century the *Macá* were considerably reduced in number as a result of constant warfare and epidemics, and therefore merged for a while with Aguirre's *Lengua*. Father Amancio González, who is supposed to have had a first-hand knowledge of these Indians, states that they were then divided in two camps which together contained only 100 able-bodied men; Azara says 150. These figures are probably wrong, as the modern *Macá* total about 5,000 persons. The present-day *Macá* are perhaps descendants of the combined *Enimagá*, *Guentusé*, and *Lengua*, who may have joined forces during the 19th century.

During the first half of the 18th century, the *Mbayá* had frequent encounters with the *Lengua-Enimagá* along their southern border. The *Enimagá* also sent raiding parties east of the Paraguay River. Unless these *Lengua-Enimagá* were *Mascoian* bands, these conflicts would indicate that originally the *Enimagá* extended farther to the north than they did at the end of the 18th century.

Modern *Macá* bands are found between the upper Río Confuso and the Río Negro. They are still numerous according to Belaieff. Until recently they had preserved their ancient ways of living, but under the impact of the Chaco war and of the occupation of their territory, their original culture is disintegrating very rapidly. Until 1932 they were at odds with the western *Pilagá* of the region of Salto Palmar.

Guentusé (*Quentusé*).—These Indians, neighbors of and an offshoot from the *Macá* (*Enimagá*), migrated with the latter from the Pilcomayo area to north of the Río Confuso. About 1794 they were divided into two bands and could muster about 300 warriors. Their name disappears during the 19th century, and it is probable that they merged with their *Macá* relatives.

THE TUPÍ-GUARANIAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

Tapieté (*Tapii*, *Yanaygua*, *Yana*, *Nanaígua*).—The *Tapieté* inhabited the desert tracks stretching from the upper Pilcomayo River to the lower Parapití River, east of the foothills of the Andes. They had several camps on the northern side of the Pilcomayo River, between Taringui and Palo Marcado and between Galpón and Villamontes. In 1935, after the Chaco war, two *Tapieté* groups settled near Fort Oruro. The exact location of the bands of the Izozog region cannot be ascertained.

The *Tapieté*, a typical Chaco tribe, have a culture very similar to that of the *Mataco* and *Chorotí*, but, curiously they speak the *Guaraní* dialect of their *Chiriguano* neighbors. It is undoubtedly as a result of long contact with the *Chiriguano* that they adopted the language of the latter and discarded their own aboriginal tongue, though it is rumored that they still use it among themselves. Even in recent years, *Tapieté* bands were in the habit of settling for some time near a *Chiriguano* village to exchange their services for maize or other goods.

Lozano (1941, p. 81) refers to a *Mataco* subtribe, the *Mataco Coronados* (*Tonsured Matacos*) who, in addition to their own language, spoke *Guaraní*. These Indians were probably the ancestors of the modern *Tapieté*.

THE ARAWAKAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

The northeastern and northwestern fringe of the Chaco was inhabited in pre-Columbian times by a large tribe of sedentary farmers who spoke an *Arawakan* dialect. They called themselves *Chaná*, but the Spaniards transcribed the name either as *Chaná* or *Chané*. Undoubtedly related to the *Paressí* and *Mojo*, they were the southernmost representatives of the great and widespread *Arawakan* linguistic family, whose center of diffusion probable lies north of the Amazon.

In Paraguay the name *Guaná* was substituted for *Chaná*, and the latter became restricted to the subtribe which lived opposite the mouth of the Apa River, and is better known as *Layaná*, a name given them by the *Mbayá*. (See Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:255–256.) To distinguish these two *Chané* branches, whose history and culture developed along different lines, the name *Chané* will be used for the western subtribes along the Andes, and *Guaná* for the eastern subtribes of the Paraguay Basin.

Long before the discovery of the Chaco by the Spaniards, the peaceful *Guaná* farmers had been subdued by the roving *Mbayá* and reduced to a condition of vassalage comparable, according to Schmidel (1903, p. 252), to that of German serfs. Each *Guaná* village was subordinate to a *Mbayá* band, which levied part of its harvest and exacted other services. In return, the vassals were protected by their suzerains against the attacks of other tribes. Thus the *Mbayá* and *Guaná* developed a close association or symbiosis, which ended only during the last century when both tribes began to disintegrate under White impact. The cultures of the *Mbayá* and *Guaná*, which at first were markedly different, had become identical. From the serfs the *Mbayá* learned to weave cotton,[13] to make a certain type of pottery, and later to give more attention to agriculture. Under *Mbayá* influence, the *Guaná* modified their social structure, adopted the horse, became more warlike, and, like their masters, acquired slaves. Both tribes, however, long retained certain basic tendencies of their former culture. The *Guaná* farmers always produced larger and better crops than those of the *Mbayá*, and they wove textiles of such good quality that they found a market for them in Neo-Brazilian cities. In general, they were more industrious and showed themselves more capable of assimilating White culture than the *Mbayá*. The *Guaná* migrated to the eastern side of the Paraguay River during the last half of the 18th century, probably about 1787, when the *Mbayá* seem to have abandoned the Chaco.

Azara's statement (1809, 2:86) that many *Guaná* followed their masters into the Province of Itati after 1673 appears unlikely, since Sánchez Labrador writes that in his time (1760–1767) all the *Guaná*, with the exception of some serfs, still lived in the Chaco.

In 1767 the subtribes of the *Guaná* occupied an area extending from lat. 21° S. to lat. 19° S. They were settled in seven villages, probably of considerable size judging from that of the *Layaná*, which contained 800 families but was said to have been smaller than the villages of the *Echoaladi*.

The *Guaná* settlements were as follows: (1) The *Layaná* (*Chaná*, *Guaná*) were opposite the mouth of the Apa (Corrientes) River, either on the Yacaré River or the Galván River; (2) the *Niguecactemic* (*Neguecaga temigii*, *Neguecatemigi*) were a branch of the *Layaná*, who had founded a separate village west of the Pão de Azucar, more or less in lat. 21°44′ S.; (3) the *Tereno* (*Terenoá*, *Etelena*) had two villages west of the *Layaná* in lat. 29° S.; (4) the *Echoaladi* (*Choarana*, *Chararana*), many of whom lived as serfs among the *Eyibogodegí*, were the largest subtribe and had two villages located northeast of the *Tereno* in lat. 21°30′ S.; and (5) the *Kinikinao* (*Equiniquinao*, *Quainaconas*) had their village somewhere between lat. 19° S. and lat. 20° S.

Thirty years later, according to Azara (1809, 2:87) and Aguirre (1911, pp. 305–09), the situation of the *Guaná* had undergone great changes: (1) The

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[13] "Las Guanas son las principales hilanderas y tegedoras de sus bellas mantas" (Aguirre, 1911, p. 314).

Layaná were settled at Lima, north of the Jejuy River, on the Aguaray-guazú River; population, 1,800:[14] (2) the *Niguecactemic* (*Neguecogatemigi, Niguicactemia, Negüicactemi*) still had their villages west of the Paraguay River (lat. 21°32′ S.); population, about 300: (3) some of the *Tereno* (*Ethelena, Etelenoe*) lived by the *Kinikinao* in the Chaco; others had moved east of the Paraguay River near a mountain chain called Echatiya (lat. 21° S.); population, 3,000: (4) the *Echoaladi* (*Hechoaladi, Charabana, Echenoana*) resided in the region of Caazapá, east of the Paraguay River, south of Villarrica (lat. 26°11′ S.); population, 1,800: (5) the *Kinikinao* (*Quiniquinao, Equiniquinao, Equiliquinao*) were split into two subgroups; one still lived in the Chaco at lat. 21°56′ S., and the other on the east side of the Paraguay River closely associated with the *Mbayá*.

In 1803 there were 600 *Guaná* in the mountainous region around Albuquerque. Though they lived separated from the *Mbayá*, the two tribes remained interdependent.

The *Guaná* were a numerous tribe, though they probably never totaled 18,000 or 30,000, as some 18th-century authors claim. In 1793 Aguirre (1911, p. 326) estimated that the whole tribe numbered 8,200; Azara gives the same figure.

In the middle of the 19th century, no *Guaná* tribe seems to have remained in the Chaco. All of them were concentrated in the region of Miranda and had broken their ties with the *Mbayá*.

About the middle of the last century the largest *Guaná* group was the *Tereno* of Miranda, whose population was estimated then at 3,000 to 4,000 (another source says 2,600 to 2,800). They lived in 4 to 6 villages. Bach, who visited them in the district of Miranda in 1896, puts their number—probably with some exaggeration—at 12,000 to 14,000. The same author lists the names of 7 of their villages, the population of which ranged from 257 to 379. In 1935 there remained 11 *Tereno* villages near Miranda.

About 1850 the *Kinikinao*, totaling 700 to 1,000, had 2 villages between Miranda and Albuquerque. At the end of the 19th century there were still about 100 *Kinikinao* scattered in the region of Albuquerque, west of the Paraguay River.

During the 19th century, the *Echoaladi* (*Chualas*) were concentrated around Albuquerque, though a few could be found near Miranda. A village near Albuquerque visited by Castelnau (1850–59, 2: 396) consisted of 65 houses. An official document of 1848 sets their total number at 200, plus a small group that had settled near Cuyabá.

One hundred years ago the *Layaná*, numbering about 300, lived in 3 or 4 villages near Miranda.[15]

The first missionary to enter the land of the *Guaná* was Pedro Romero, who was killed there. Father Sánchez Labrador visited the tribe in 1761 and, in 1766, Father Manuel Duran founded the *Layaná* mission of San Juan Nepomuceno, on the western side of the Paraguay River, opposite the mouth of the Apa (Corrientes) River. After the expulsion of the Jesuits the following year, the Franciscans transferred the mission across the river, but did not succeed in keeping the Indians—mostly *Layaná*—in it more than 2 years. In 1791 a new mission was established on the Tacuatí River, on the middle course of the Ypané River, but it never prospered.

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[14] In 1788, 500 *Guaná* settled at Tacuatí, on the Ypané River, under a priest, but were soon attacked and decimated by the Creoles. Another *Guaná* group that lived near Fuerte Olimpo migrated to the vicinity of Concepción, on the Laguna de Aquidabanigy, where Rengger (1835, p. 335) visited them in 1821. Later, these Indians, who had placed themselves under Paraguayan protection, were exterminated by the Mestizos.

[15] Aguirre (1911, p. 309) gives the following figures for only the male population at the end of the 18th century: *Tereno*, 1,000; *Layaná*, 500; *Echoaladi*, 1,000; *Kinikinao*, 600; *Neguecogatemi*, 200. These figures were communicated to Aguirre by a Franciscan missionary.

Protestant missionaries of the Inland South America Missionary Union have been active among the *Tereno* since 1913. From the accounts of one of its missionaries, Mr. Hay, it appears that the Indians, though thoroughly adjusted to the Neo-Brazilian environment, have remained surprisingly faithful to many *Arawak* and *Mbayá* traditions and customs.

THE ZAMUCOAN LINGUISTIC FAMILY

At the beginning of the 18th century, the plains south of the Province of Chiquitos were occupied by Indians who spoke dialects of the family called *Zamucoan* after one of its subgroups. Hervás (1800–1805, 1: 162–164) classifies the *Zamucoan* dialects as follows:

(1) *Zamuco* proper spoken by the *Zamuco* and the *Zatieño* (*Satieño*, *Ibiraya*).

(2) *Caipotorade* spoken by the *Caipotorade*, *Tunacho* (*Tunaco*), *Imono*, and *Timinaba* (undoubtedly the modern *Tumerehã*).

(3) *Morotoco* (the modern *Moro*) spoken by the *Morotoco* (*Coroino*), *Tomoeno*, *Cucurare* (*Cucurate*, *Cucutade*, *Cuculado*), *Panana*, *Carerá*, and *Ororebate*.

(4) *Ugaraño*. Some Jesuits placed *Ugaraño* in the same subgroups as *Zamuco* proper.

To these dialects we must add the *Tapii* (?), *Chamacoco*, *Tsirakua*, *Guarañoca*, and probably *Poturero*.

History of the Zamucoan tribes.—Several authors have identified the *Samocosi* or *Tamacosi*, whose name appears in the accounts of the discovery of the *Chiquito*, with the *Zamuco* or *Chamacoco*, but the 16th-century *Tamacosi* lived on the Río Grande (Guapay) not far from the modern city of Santa Cruz de la Sierra, and neither their location nor the few data on their culture suggest any connection with the ancient *Zamuco*.

The Indians of the *Zamucoan* family entered history in 1711 when the *Morotoco* were discovered by Father Juan Bautista de Zea and were placed in the mission of San José. In 1717 they were moved to the newly founded mission of San Juan Bautista. Father Zea next visited the *Cucurare* but, except for a few families, they refused to follow the example of the *Morotoco*. In 1716 he sent a party of *Chiquito* neophytes to "tame" the *Carerá*, a *Zamucoan* tribe closely related but hostile to the *Morotoco*. The *Carerá*, who offered armed resistance to the intruding *Chiquito*, were obliged to flee after suffering heavy losses. They were never again found nor was their name mentioned in later Jesuit documents. In 1717 Father Zea at last reached the *Zamuco* proper, who received him in a friendly manner and agreed to form a mission. But in 1719 when Father Miguel de Yegros tried to open the mission in the land of the *Cucurare*, the *Zamuco* frustrated his plan by migrating from the site he had chosen and by murdering Br. Alberto Moreno, who had followed them. For 5 more years the Jesuits made fruitless efforts to start a mission among them.

Finally, in 1723, a *Zamuco* band, fleeing from the *Ugaraño*, came with a *Cucurare* group to seek refuge in the mission of San Juan. Later in the same year, Father Augustin Castañares brought them back to their own country, where he founded the mission of San Ignacio, probably at lat. 20°55′ S. and long. 59°42′ W. In 1726 the *Zamuco* and *Cucurare*, who formed this mission, were transferred to San José with the hope that, surrounded by Christianized *Chiquito*, they would forget their mutual enmities. When peace was reestablished, the *Zamuco* and *Cucurare* were allowed to return to their mission and were placed under the care of Father Castañares. In 1738 members of five tribes were concentrated in San Ignacio—the *Zamuco* proper, the *Cucurare*, the *Tapii*[16] (*Tapio*), the *Zatieño* (*Satieño*), and the *Ugaraño*—all of whom spoke closely related dialects (Chomé, 1819, p. 349). In this mission Father Ignace Chomé wrote a glossary and a grammar of the *Zamuco* language.[17] The Jesuits desired at that time to make San Ignacio an outpost for the exploration and spiritual conquest of the unknown regions of the Chaco—a hope which never materialized.

About 1750 renewed intertribal feuds caused the neophytes to desert the mission of San Ignacio and return to San Juan. In 1751 a new mission of San Ignacio was built north of San Miguel for the *Ugaraño* and some converts from San Juan Bautista.

At the end of the Jesuit period there were *Morotoco*, *Cucurare*, and *Tomoeno* Indians in the mission of San Juan Bautista. In 1831 the bulk of the population was formed by *Morotoco* and *Chiquito* though some other tribes were still represented by a few individuals.

The mission of Santiago, established in 1754, contained, among other Indians (Hervás mentions the *Ugaraño* and *Tunacho*), 300 *Caipoterade*[18] whom Father Gaspar Troncoso rounded up in 1762 with the aid of a party of Christianized Indians. At the time of D'Orbigny's visit in 1831 the population of Santiago consisted only of *Guarañoca*, *Tapii*, and some *Chiquito*.

The *Tunaca* (*Tunaco*, *Tunacho*) lived to the southeast of the mission of Santiago. In 1757 Father Narciso Patzi established contact with them and tried by distributing presents to induce them to form a mission, but the *Tunaca* remained hostile and even attacked the missionary's party. Only in 1759 did Father Patzi succeed in collecting about 200 *Tunaca*, for whom Father Antonio Guasp founded the mission of Corazón de Jesús. In 1767 the *Tunaca* shared this mission with *Zatieño*, *Zamuco* proper, *Poturero*, *Otuquè*, and some *Chiquito*, all of whom, with the exception of the *Zatieño* and *Tunaca*, still retained their tribal consciousness when D'Orbigny visited them in 1832.

The *Imono* were never converted by the Jesuits. In 1763 this peaceful tribe of about 300 people was destroyed by the *Mbayá*, who killed the adults and retained the children as slaves (Muriel, 1918, p. 225).

By settling the *Zamuco* in the Province of Chiquitos, the Jesuits not only aimed to remove them from the inroads of the *Mbayá* but to hasten their assimilation by the *Chiquito*, who formed the predominant population of that region. The missionaries strove to spread the *Chiquito* language among the *Zamuco* in the missions, but evidently they were only partially successful for *Zamuco* was still spoken there in the first half of the 19th century. Today the descendants of the missionized *Zamuco* cannot be distinguished from the acculturated *Chiquito.*

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[16] Hervás (1800–1805, 1:160) classifies the *Tapii* among the *Chiquitoan*-speaking Indians. The *Tapii* whom D'Orbigny (1835–47, 4:273) found in the mission of Santiago had forgotten their original language, and he is inclined to regard them as an *Otuquèan* tribe.

[17] Chomé's manuscript grammar of the *Zamuco* language was discovered by K. Von den Steinen, and is now in Dr. Paul Rivet's possession.

[18] Muriel (1918, p. 206) remarks that the *Caipoterade* bands split into their component families during the dry season, but that they gathered again when the algarroba pods were ripe or when the rivers were full of fish.

When the paternalistic Jesuit regime was replaced by the rule of corrupt governors and curates who mistreated and looted the Indians, the once flourishing missions fell into a complete decadence from which they have never recovered.

In spite of their persistent and the systematic efforts, the Jesuits lacked time to subjugate all the *Zamucoan* tribes. Even when the bulk of the nation had been settled in the missions, some bands retained their independence. Among these, were the *Moro,* who undoubtedly are the remnants of the ancient *Morotoco,* and the *Guarañoca.* The Jesuits now and then allude to the *Timiniha* (*Timiniba, Timinaba*), a *Zamucoan* tribe, which they were unable to bring under their rule. This name probably was applied to the whole *Chamacoco* tribe rather than to the *Tumerehã* subtribe (see p. 244). Texts concerning the history of the *Zamucoan* tribes have been collected by Baldus (1931 a, pp. 154–202; 1932, pp. 361–416).

In 1723 Fernández (1895, 2:244) estimated the number of the *Zamuco* proper at 1,200, and thought the *Ugaraño* about as numerous. In 1831 D'Orbigny (1835–47, 4:254) put the *Zamuco* population in the missions of Chiquitos at 1,250 and the number of the wild *Zamuco* near the Salinas de Santiago and on the Otuquis River at about 1,000.

Guarañoca.—The original habitat of the *Guarañoca* lay in the southern foothills of the Santiago Range. In the first half of the 18th century, the Jesuits made great efforts to settle them in their missions but the warlike disposition and errant life of these Indians prevented the conversion of the whole tribe. Those who accepted the Jesuit rule constituted, together with the *Tapii* and some *Chiquito,* the native population of the mission of Santiago de Chiquitos.

The *Guarañoca* who remained pagan became bitter enemies of the Whites. For many years their continuous attacks hampered the exploitation of the large salt deposits south of Santiago. In recent years these Indians have constantly raided ranches and farms near San José, Santiago, Santo Corazón, and San Rafael. According to a native informant, they are now split into several groups: one lives 12 or 15 leagues from Santiago; another, the so-called *Salineros,* near the Salinas de Santiago and San José; another, the *Migueleños,* near the headwaters of the San Miguel River; a fourth group in the Monte Grande; and a band which roams near the Paraguay River.

All these groups speak closely related dialects, maintain mutually friendly relations, and barter salt for other goods, chiefly pottery. One small band near the Tubaca and Aguas Calientes Rivers is, however, hostile to the other *Guarañoca.* The *Guarañoca* who formerly lived in the Pampa de San Miguel have migrated to the campos of Santo Corazón, near San Rafael. D'Orbigny gives a good description of the *Guarañoca* dances in the mission of Santiago. Some ethnographic data on these Indians were published recently by Father Oefner (1942), who obtained his information from a few neophytes of the modern mission of Santiago de Chiquitos. The *Guarañoca* culture seems to resemble very closely that of the *Tsirakua* and *Moro,* who possibly are *Guarañoca* bands or subgroups. According to Loukotka, however, the few known *Guarañoca* words show closer analogies with ancient *Zamuco* than do the *Tsirakua* and *Chamacoco* word lists. Until more and better linguistic material is available, the question must remain undecided.

Moro.—The modern *Moro*, who may be related to the *Morotoco* of the Jesuit mission of San Juan Bautista, are still unknown but for vague references and a few artifacts collected in their abandoned camps. They roam in the unexplored plain of the northern Chaco, south of Chiquitos and north of the inland railway from Puerto Sastre. They fight occasional skirmishes with the *Tumerehã*, and are hostile to other Indians and Whites. Possibly they are to be identified with the *Guarañoca* of the Salinas de Santiago and San José.

Chamacoco.—When the *Mbayá* and the *Guaná* left the Chaco to settle in Matto Grosso, the territory which they abandoned was occupied by the *Chamacoco*, who are mentioned for the first time when they appeared near Fuerte Olimpo in 1802. During the 19th century, the *Chamacoco* were constantly raided by the *Mbayá*, who enslaved them or forced them to sell their children. In 1803, the *Mbayá* of the region of Coimbra had 400 *Chamacoco* slaves.

Modern *Chamacoco* are divided into three subtribes: *Hório*, *Ebidoso*, and *Tumerehã*. The *Hório* (Frič's *Ishira*) lived in the region of Bahía Nega and Puerto Mihanovitch on the Paraguay River. In 1928 they numbered 120 to 180 people.

The *Ebidoso* resided in the vicinity of Puerto Voluntad, and were reckoned at 175 in 1928.

Although the *Ebidoso* and *Hório* separated only recently, both subtribes are now hostile to each other. The Paraguayans often call them *Chamacocos mansos* (*Tame Chamacoco*) because they were the first of the tribe who, in 1885, entered into friendly relationship with the Whites.

The *Tumerehã* (*Timinaba; Timiniha* on Jolis' map) form the southern group of the *Chamacoco*, who separated from the two other subtribes 50 years ago, as the result, it is said, of a feud over a violated taboo. Their habitat is north of the railway which runs from Puerto Sastre westward into the Chaco. Because they keep aloof from the Whites, they are often called *Chamacocos bravos* (*Wild Chamacoco*) though they are really more peaceful than their northern neighbors. Continuous warfare existed for a long time between the *Tumerehã* and the other *Chamacoco* groups. In 1928 the *Tumerehã* are said to have totaled about 1,500 (301 families).

Tsirakua (*Siracua*, *Empelota*).—The *Tsirakua*, a mysterious tribe that ranges north and east of the Izozog marshes, may be identical with the *Moro* or a closely related tribe. The only information regarding them was obtained through the *Tapieté*, who waged a bitter war against them and now and then captured a few. A short list of words taken from a *Tsirakua* woman by Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 324) shows close relationship with the *Zamuco*. The *Tsirakua*, like the *Moro*, may be *Guarañoca* bands.

Poturero (*Potorera*).—The *Poturero* (Azara's *Ninaguila* or *Ninaquiguila*) were a fairly numerous tribe that lived in the forests of the northern Chaco between lats. 18° and 19° S. They were peaceful farmers whose small villages were scattered south of the mission of Santiago, on the southern side of the San Raphael and Aguas Calientes Rivers. Some *Poturero* groups were settled in the mission of Santo Corazón and perhaps in San Juan Bautista.

Cardús (1886, p. 278) refers to them as a tribe still existing in the second half of the 19th century. He states that they had escaped from the above-mentioned missions and lived along the Tucabaca River, between Santiago and Corumbá.

UNIDENTIFIED INDIAN TRIBES ON THE UPPER PARAGUAY

The Indians inhabiting the district around Puerto de los Reyes, lat. 17°58′ S., in the middle of the 16th century, were the *Sacoci*, *Socorino* (*Surucusi*), *Xaquete* or *Xaquese*, and the *Chané*.

The *Chané* were apparently newcomers in the region. They told the Spaniards that they had followed the Alejo García expedition on its way back from the border of the *Inca* Empire, and then had settled in two villages near the *Sacoci*.

All these tribes were agriculturists, but unlike most tropical Indians, the men planted and sowed whereas the women helped only with the harvesting. Their main vegetable foods were manioc of several varieties, maize, sweet potatoes, peanuts, and mbocajá palm fruits. They raised ducks and hens which they shut at night in tightly closed chicken houses for protection against vampire bats.

Men and women usually went naked, but had cotton cloaks, which were stored in large jars sealed with clay to protect them from crickets. Men wore large wooden disks in the earlobes—hence the name *Orejones* (Big Ears) often given to this tribe—and women wore "a grey stone of crystal, thick and long as a finger" in the lower lip. They are said to have worshiped wooden idols.

The *Artan* (*Artanes*) lived a day upstream from Puerto de los Reyes. They were agriculturists, but sowed little because most of their land was periodically inundated or covered with arid sand. They went naked. Men inserted into their lower lip the round husk of a fruit (?) and women tattooed their faces with the tip of a stingray tail.

The *Yacaré* also inhabited the Paraguay River banks, 36 leagues upstream from Puerto de los Reyes. They were fishermen and hunters.

The *Perovosan* (*Perobozanes*) are placed by our sources north of the *Artan*, south of the *Xaraye*.

The few ethnographical details on the *Xaraye* (*Xarayes*) preclude their inclusion within the Chaco culture area. They will be described with the *Chiquitoan* tribes in Volume 3.

CULTURE

SUBSISTENCE ACTIVITIES

Collecting wild foods.—The thorny and forbidding Chaco bush (pls. 45, 46) has greater wealth in trees and other plants with subsistence value to man than the tropical forest. Pod-bearing algarroba (*Prosopis alba* and *P. nigra*) and tuscas (*Acacia moniliformis*), fruit trees like the chañar (*Gourliea decorticans*) and the mistol (*Zizyphus mistol*), which are all common representatives of the Chaco xerophytic flora, supply the natives with abundant food in season. Innumerable palm trees, covering extensive areas in the marshy tracts along the rivers, are of equal economic value. The forests once yielded considerable game, and the rivers still hold countless fish.

The seasonal yield of certain plant species produces a varied diet, and the irregular distribution of certain plants and of several animal species induces a limited nomadism, which, however, does not involve the migration of large bands, but rather the dispersal of small family groups, which scatter in order to procure their livelihood. The social and ceremonial life is deeply affected by the momentary abundance of a particular food. For example, during the fishing season, when there is always a large concentration of people along the rivers, boundary conflicts are frequent. The algarroba harvest, on the other hand, is a period of continual rejoicing and visiting. In winter, the social density is at its lowest level, and every family trudges across the bush in search of a precarious subsistence.

A diet calendar can be established for the Pilcomayo Indians on the basis of seasonal variations in foods. Since the beginning of this century, however, the annual cycle has been altered by a new and important factor in the native economy: during the lean winter months, which formerly were a time of scarcity and even of famine, the younger people migrate to the sugarcane fields of Jujuy and Salta, where they work as peons.

From November to January and sometimes until February, the Pilcomayo Indians feast on algarroba, which is consumed mainly in the form of beer, and on the nourishing fruits of the chañar and mistol.

At the end of summer, the beans of the poroto del monte (*Capparis retusa*), tasi (*Morrenia odorata*), and Barbary figs (tunas) are foremost in their bill of fare. Farming tribes harvest their crops during the same period, and add maize, pumpkins, and watermelons to their diet of wild plants. Toward the end of the rainy season, women are kept busy spreading fruits and pods on skins and mats to dry for the winter months ahead.

April, May, and the first half of June, when shoals of fish ascend the Pilcomayo, are months of plenty. The daily catch is sometimes so big that the surplus can be smoked and stored for many days or traded to inland tribes for maize and other crops. The Indians regard the fishing season as one of fatness and health. It is unquestionable that they are then best nourished. In June and July, though the rivers are low, a few fish can still be had and tusca pods and a few tasi are still harvested.

During August[19] and September, the leanest months of the year, the Indians eat tusca and their stores of sachalimona or naranja del monte (*Capparis speciosa*) and sachasandia fruits (*Capparis salicifolia*). They beat the bush to gather various wild Cucurbitaceae, tubers, and some species of Bromelia with fleshy rhizomes. The most palatable food of this season is a creeper, tripa de zorro (probably *Phaseolus caracalla*), which, properly cured, tastes like chestnuts.[20] Game, though in recent times an almost negligible source of food, formerly supplemented the vegetable diet.

A similar economic schedule may be postulated for the northern Chaco tribes, about whom there is less information.

Like other Chaco tribes, the *Mbayá* of the northern Chaco and of southern Matto Grosso collected algarroba pods, but their staples among wild plants were the terminal shoot (palmito), the fruits and the pith of several palm species, mainly the mbocayá palm (*Acrocomia* sp.) and the yatái-guazú (*Cocos paraguayensis*). Large *Mbayá* households would settle in a grove of mbocayá palms and exploit it for a month or more until they had exhausted it, then return to the main camp with provisions of flour and roasted shoots (palmitos). Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 1:162) tells us that the *Mbayá* families, assembled at the mission of Belen on the Ypané River, destroyed all the palm trees within 6 miles of the mission in 3 or 4 weeks.

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[19] During my visit to the *Mataco* of the Bermejo River in 1939, in August they still ate anco (*Cucurbita moschata*) and some algarroba pods.

[20] The *Mataco* collect wild roots and tubers during the lean winter months. Among the roots are those of the oláx (*Cissus palmata*), which grow in marshy grounds and have to be boiled in three different waters; of the newûk creeper, which look like manioc but are unsavory; and those of the na'pét cactus, which are boiled in ashes. Tubers include katsi'wók (*Echinodorus grandiflorus*), an aquatic plant which needs only slight boiling; si'nyáx, which are very bitter and therefore are roasted, dried, and then boiled for a whole day; moʟmoʟ (*Solanum meloncillo*); atsixwó, which are first roasted and then boiled; and nekwitáx (*Merremia aegyptica*).

The *Mataco* also eat iste-Loi berries (*Physalis viscosa*), and the fruits of sãn'yã (*Araujia plumosa*); katsunʟi (*Philibertia gracilis*); kitsawk (*Cissus sicyoides*), which are boiled and roasted; tsotna-katos ("deer-teats"), which are baked in ashes; and axwatax-Loi, which resemble the tasi fruits and the fruits of the newûk creeper.

The economic value of palm trees for the *Mbayá* can be well illustrated by the various advantages which these Indians derived from the mbocayá palm (*Acrocomia* sp., probably *totai*): the fruits, seeds, shoots, and pith were eaten; the sap was made into an alcoholic beverage; grubs, which grew in the decayed trunks, were greatly relished as a food; and ropes and halters were made from the leaves and needles from the thorns. The terminal shoot (palmito) of the caranday palm is also an important food for the Pilcomayo tribes. Modern Indians in that region, however, do not seem to consume the starch of the palm to the same extent that their ancestors did. The *Mocoví* broiled the palmito and pounded it into a flour, which they ate as a mush. They were also fond of the fruit kernels, which they consumed raw or roasted (Kobler, 1870, p. 235).

The main vegetable foods of the *Chamacoco* are algarroba pods, shoots of the caranday palm (*Copernicia cerifera*), the pith of the carandaipé palm, the bases of the caraguatá leaves, the tubers of an aquatic plant, and a wild "manioc" (Baldus, 1931 b, p. 26). The *Guarañoca* collect paquio, chuchio, piñas silvestres, pitajaya, algarroba pods, and the fruits of the totaï palm (Oefner, 1942, p. 103).

Rice (*Oryza perennis*), which grows wild in the marshy tracts of the upper Paraguay River, was consumed on a large scale by the river Indians, the *Payaguá* and *Guachí*, and even by the *Mbayá*, who obtained it from these tribes by barter. The *Payaguá* and *Guachí* harvested the rice by shaking the grains into their canoes, in a way similar to that of the *Menomini* of Wisconsin in harvesting wild rice. They ate it without removing the hull (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:185).

When hard-pressed by hunger, the *Mocoví* ate the boiled roots of the umbú tree (Kobler, 1870, p. 223).

Throughout the Chaco, wild fruits and tubers are collected by women who search the bush, equipped with a digging stick, a wooden hook fastened to a long pole to pull down high branches, and large caraguatá bags to carry home the harvest.

The digging stick is made of hard wood (often of palo mataco, *Achatocarpus praecox*) and as a rule, has a spatulated or beveled distal end. The digging stick of the *Toba* and *Mataco* is about 6 feet (1.8 m.) long and of considerable weight. The same tribes also use shorter, thinner sticks with a spatulated head, which can be carried easily when they wander in the forest and which serve to open palm trunks and uproot caraguatá plants. The *Abipón* and *Mocoví* digging stick was about 4 feet (1.3 m.) long, broad at each end but slender in the middle (Dobrizhoffer, 1784, 2: 122). *Chamacoco* women have digging sticks shaped like paddles or clubs with sharp edges, a form appropriate for extracting the caranday terminal shoots (palmitos). To uproot caraguatá leaves, Chaco women used forked sticks.

Before eating the tunas (Barbary figs), which are covered with infinitesimal thorns, the women shake the fruit together in elongated nets (pl. 60, *b*) to rub off the dangerous fuzz.

Chaco Indians are eager honey-gatherers. Bees and honey-producing wasps are numerous in the Chaco. The *Mataco* know of 16 different kinds of honey. Some species of bees or wasps make spherical hives hanging from trees; others live in trees or in underground holes. When wandering in the bush, the men attentively follow the flight of each bee, hoping to discover its nest. The *Abipón* explained their habit of plucking their eyelashes as a measure to improve their sight when looking for bees. To reach honey in tree cavities, the Indians enlarge the hole with their axes, a lengthly operation when they had only stone axes. Unless the cavity is large enough to receive a vessel, the Indians dip a coarse fabric of caraguatá fibers into the liquid honey and wring it in a skin bag. The Chaco Indians despoil a hive entirely and, unlike some Brazilian tribes, leave no combs for the bees' return. The larvae in the combs are eaten with the honey or, preferably, are roasted. Honey is always stored in a small bag made of the entire skin of a small rodent with the hair inside. The *Guaná* are said to stupefy the bees with the smoke of a Datura plant, which they blow into the cavity before removing the combs.

The clouds of locusts that cross the Chaco sometimes are an important food resource. The *Mocoví* drove the insects toward a large straw fire which scorched them, or collected them by the hundreds and roasted them over a fire. Roasted or dried locusts are often pounded in a mortar and boiled in water or fried in fish oil (*Mocoví*, *Lengua*, and others). The *Mocoví* stored locusts which they could not eat on the spot; they also made a mush of locust eggs.

Water supply.—Water is scarce throughout large regions of the Chaco. In the dry season its lack may become one of the most serious problems of survival. The ancient *Lule* and *Vilela* who lived south of the Bermejo River, bored deep pits in which they stored jars full of water for the dry season, or dug large cisterns.[21] The modern *Lengua* have wells 15 to 20 feet (4.5 to 6.1 m.) deep and 2½ feet (0.75 m.) in diameter. These are so made that a man can go down by footholds on either side.

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[21] Camaño y Bazán (1931, p. 331) says: "Suplían la falta de ríos y manantiales perenes con el agua llovedisa que se recoge en ciertos bajíos de tierra, los cuales cavaban y profundaban más, para que el agua recogida en las lluvias durase por más tiempo. Mas como aun esta diligencia no bastaba para que tuviesen agua por todo el año, por ser grandes los ardores del sol, y muy seca y sedienta la tierra, guardaban en hoyos profundos multitud de tinajas grandes llenas de agua para el verano. Guardaban tambien sandias. Serviales asimismo de bebidas el jugo de unas raices grandes manera de botijas, que llama uagali, tanto mas jugosas o aguosas que las sandias."

When in extreme need, the Chaco Indians drink the water that collects in the hollow axils of caraguatá leaves or dig up the bulky tuber of the cipoy (*Jacaratia hassleriana;* in *Mataco*, iletsax).

Farming.—Agriculture is known to nearly all Chaco tribes. The few exceptions are explained by an unfavorable environment rather than by cultural reasons, though in some cases the adoption of the horse brought the temporary abandonment of farming.

The ancient *Zamuco* were farmers and so are their descendants, the *Moro* and *Guarañoca*, who cultivate maize, beans, gourds, manioc, and cotton (?).[22] On the other hand, the closely related *Chamacoco* are almost exclusively collectors and hunters, though even they are not entirely ignorant of the principles of agriculture, for they plant and carefully tend the gourds necessary for making rattles (Baldus, 1931 a, p. 32). Here the absence of systematic agriculture must be attributed to the nature of the land, for the *Tumerehã*, a subgroup of the same tribe who occupy a more favorable environment, raise a few crops and cultivate an imported reed, the caña de Castilla (*Arundo donax*), for arrow shafts. The *Payaguá,* who formerly lived on the water, became agriculturists many years after they had settled in Asunción. The first attempt at agriculture was the sowing of a few beans in 1824.

After the *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, and *Mbayá* received the horse they found themselves in a better position to live from hand to mouth and gave up whatever little farming they might have practiced in the past. However, the *Abipón* and *Mocoví* obtained crop foods through loot and the *Mbayá* through tribute from their farming vassals, the *Arawakan*-speaking *Guaná.* At the end of the 18th century, whatever agriculture was practiced by the *Mbayá* was in the hands of the *Guaná* slaves who lived among them. In the following century, the *Mbayá* themselves became true farmers, when the Whites forced them to lead a more sedentary life. It is quite likely that agriculture played the same part in the pre-European economy of these tribes that it did among other Chaco Indians who did not adopt the horse.

The best farmers of the Chaco were the *Arawakan*-speaking *Guaná* of the north, who depended mainly on the yield of their large plantations. Every year after they had tilled their fields and planted their crops, the *Guaná* moved to the banks of the Paraguay River to hunt and fish until harvest time. The *Lengua*, who can find only small and scattered patches suitable for cultivation, raise few crops, but their neighbors, the *Ashluslay* (*Chulupí*) are better off, thanks to a more favorable habitat. To the *Pilagá*, whose lands are flooded every year, agriculture is more a sport than a profitable pursuit. They merely grow a few pumpkins, and some maize and tobacco.

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[22] The ancient *Zamuco* also planted peanuts.

Compared to the bush *Mataco* (*Matacos montaraces*) and the *Toba*, the river *Mataco* may be considered proficient gardeners.

The ancient *Gauchi* of the Miranda River planted their crops on the flooded terrains along the river. As soon as the river receded, they set fire to the grass and started to till the soil to grow maize, gourds, tobacco, and sweet potatoes. (See Aguirre, 1911, p. 322.)

Dryness of the soil, lack of chemicals, and excessive floods are not the only factors handicapping farming in large parts of the Chaco; crops are also threatened by blights, locusts, tordo birds, parakeets, peccaries, and by cattle and other domesticated animals. The building of a thorn hedge around his field is the heaviest task which befalls the *Mataco* farmer. These fences, heaped up with great effort, do not last long and must be replenished twice a year. When thorn trees or brush can no longer be obtained within convenient distance, the Indians prefer to abandon the old clearing and to open a new one in some other site. In the Spanish jargon of the Chaco, "field" is synonymous with "enclosure" (cerco).

Some fields of the *Mataco* in the upper Pilcomayo River region measure about 10 acres (4 hectares); this is also the size of the average *Kaskihá* field. On the other hand, the *Pilagá* have patches covering only a few square yards (meters). *Sanapaná* plantations rarely exceed 5 or 8 acres (2 or 3 hectares). They are generally located within a thick forest and are reached by a winding path. The owner first destroys the low brush and then fells all trees except those which are too tall to shade the crops. Even after they have moved to a new site, the *Lengua*, and probably most of the Chaco Indians, return from time to time to their old gardens to carry off the produce.

Most Chaco Indians are careless about the condition of their fields and plant the different crops haphazardly in scattered patches. Among the *Kaskihá*, however, old people are said to weed the gardens.

The main crops raised in the Chaco are: Maize, sweet manioc, beans (*Phaseolus* sp.), pumpkins (*Cucurbita maxima*), anco (*Cucurbita moschata*), watermelons, gourds (*Angaité*, *Sanapaná*), sweet potatoes, tobacco, cotton, sorghum, and sugarcane. There are local variations, especially in the northern Chaco where the Indians are in contact with tropical agriculturists. The modern *Guaná* cultivate, in addition to the plants listed above, bitter manioc, cara, several of the Cucurbitaceae, rice, papayas, a species of *Cassia*, an aroid, the tubers of which are boiled in several waters, and urucú. Pumpkins are the preferred crop of the *Mataco*, and maize of the *Ashluslay;* sweet potatoes are the staple of the *Kaskihá*. The *Lengua* raise pumpkins, sweet potatoes, sweet manioc, tobacco, and a little maize.

Clearing the brush, fence construction, and occasional weeding are everywhere men's activities. There is some doubt as to which sex tills and sows. *Mataco* and *Pilagá* men till the fields and plant the crops;

women harvest. According to Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 94), among the *Chorotí* and *Ashluslay* both men and women cooperate in all agricultural work. The care of the plantation is in the men's hands among the *Lengua*, *Kaskihá*, and *Guaná*.

The main agricultural implement is either a digging stick (fig. 37, *c*) or a wooden paddle-shaped spade (*Mataco*, *Chorotí*, *Ashluslay*, *Guarañoca*) carved from a single piece of wood and, occasionally, provided with a crotch at the proximal end (fig. 35, *a*). The shovel of the *Guaná*, like that of the *Chiriguano* and of the Andean Indians of southern Bolivia and Atacama, consisted of a wooden blade (also a scapula) lashed to a handle 5 feet (1.5 m.) long. When shoveling, a *Guaná* sat on the ground and turned up the soil within reach, then moved to another spot[23] (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 2:292).

The *Mataco* maintain guards in their fields to scare off the swarms of parrots and other birds which plunder the ripe crops, or lay snares to catch them.

When a crop has been destroyed by blight, the *Lengua* consult a shaman who himself brings, or who sends by someone else, charms to drive away the evil and to restore fertility to the soil. Unfruitful plants are spat upon to make them bear again (Grubb, 1904, p. 81).

Fishing.—During 2 or 3 months each year, fishing is the principal economic activity and fish the staple food of those tribes that have access to large rivers, such as the Pilcomayo and the Bermejo. Even the equestrian *Mbayá* spent several weeks along the Paraguay River living exclusively on fish. For this period, they built flimsy shelters along the water so situated that, in case of danger, fire or smoke signals could be seen by everyone.

Even inland bush groups try to settle on the river banks during the fishing season notwithstanding the peril of poaching on the territory of other tribes. To avoid open warfare, agreements are sometimes reached between the river and bush people. Thus, the *Ashluslay*, when at peace with the *Pilagá*, lend them their fishweirs. Many inland tribes trade maize or other foods for dried or smoked fish.

Collective fishing is common among the *Pilagá*, *Ashluslay*, and *Mataco* of the Pilcomayo River, but on the Bermejo River it is more often an individual activity. There is scant discipline in these communal drives, and everyone stops fishing at his own will.

In the swampy regions near the mouth of the Pilcomayo River, fish are often so thick in the stagnant pools that they can be dipped out by hand. The *Lengua* catch fish in the same manner in small streams which they dam when the annual flood recedes. Both the *Ashluslay* and the *Lengua* fish in low waters with conical wicker baskets, about 2 feet (0.6 m.) high and open at the base and apex. They drop them over the fish, which they seize with their hands through the hole at the top. The same Indians set wickerwork fish traps in larger streams.

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[23] "El modo que tienen en labrar la tierra es singular. Con las palas arriba dichas mueven la tierra y desherban, no al modo que lo hacen los Españoles, sino sentados. Enhastan las palas en unos cabos largos de vara y media: siéntase el Chanã, y trabaja cuanto alcanza la pala; así, mudando sitios, limpia y compone el terreno de su sementera" (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:291–292).

There is no record of native hooks other than those of the *Lengua* and *Kaskihá* (Hassler, 1894, p. 333), which are said to have been made of bone or wood. The *Lengua* angle with very short lines from their canoes or as they stand in the water. The *Mataco*, it is said, employ large wooden hooks for catching caimans. Angling with iron hooks is especially rewarding when the rivers are high and fish come to the banks to eat ant larvae and other insects which fall into the water near the crumbling banks. The Indians, however, often lose their catch to the palometa fish, which tears it or cuts the line.

Net fishing, by far the most profitable method, is practiced during the dry season when rivers can be forded and dams built, and when shoals of fish migrate upstream.

Nets are of two types: (1) Those with a frame of two long poles which open and close like scissors; and (2) those mounted on two bent flexible rods attached to each other at both ends (pl. 48).

When word comes that fish are ascending the river, the Indians start to construct a fence of branches in the water parallel or diagonal to the shore.[24] At night a group of fishermen, holding nets of the first type, bar the downstream end of the channel between the fence and the shore (fig. 24). One or two men zigzag from the other end of the channel striking the water with a long pole, which makes an explosive noise and drives the fish toward the men with the nets, who scoop them out of the water, wrap them in their nets to immobilize them, and stun them with short round clubs. The fishermen thread each fish through the gills with a wooden needle and hang it on a cord wrapped around their waist.

When this method is used in the daytime, the water beaters drive the fish by diving in the water with a net of the second type in which they scoop up any fish that pass by.

In the low waters of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo Rivers, the Indians build a zigzag weir with narrow openings; in front of each opening, a platform is raised, from which they catch in large scissor nets fish descending the stream (fig. 25). On cold nights fishermen warm themselves by fires that burn on a layer of earth on the platforms. Identical platforms are placed at river bends where the eddies push the fish against the shore.

The Pilcomayo River bed is full of depressions and holes, which are well known to the Indians and in which fish can always be caught.

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[24] One which I saw was about 100 yards (91 m.) long.

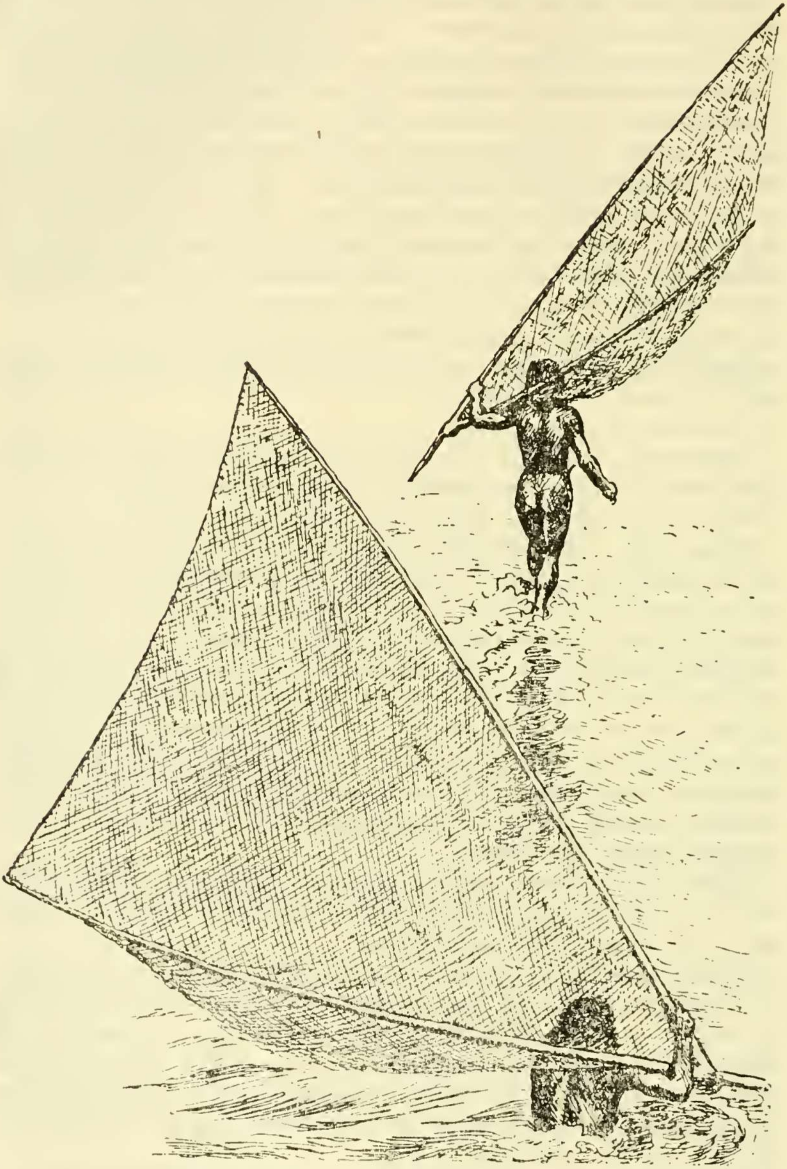

FIGURE 24.—*Ashluslay* fishermen with barring nets. Pilcomayo River, Gran Chaco, Bolivia. (After Rosen, 1924, fig. 113. Sketched from photo by E. Nordenskiöld.)

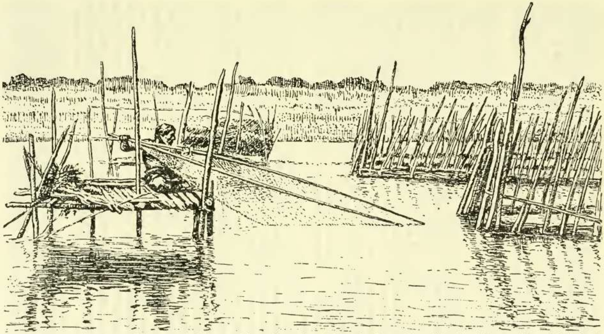

FIGURE 25.—*Choroti* fish fence. Built across the Pilcomayo River with openings at intervals. A man fishes with a dip net from a platform built in front of an opening. (After Rosen, 1924, fig. 114. Sketched from photo by E. Nordenskiöld.)

especially in cold weather when they are numb. An Indian holding the second type of dip net dives, opens his net under water, and returns to the surface with his catch. He then hurries to warm himself by a fire. In low water, a fisherman, using the same net, holds the lower stick of the frame close to the bottom, draws the net slowly along, and closes it on his prey. A group of fishermen may also corner fish along the river bank and scoop up scores in their nets and throw them on the shore.[25]

The *Lengua* catch eels and lungfish (*Lepidosiren*), which abound in their region, with slender spears. They also take them by hand, and wear a band of small bones across the palm of the hand to get a better hold (Grubb, 1913, p. 82). The *Mataco*, *Toba* (pl. 48), and *Pilagá*, especially in cold weather, spear fish with long bamboo rods tipped with wire. The *Mataco* of the Bermejo River fish with a crude harpoon consisting of a 15-foot (4.5-m.) pole of light wood to which a small foreshaft is attached at the distal end; the detachable head is the sharpened tip of a cow horn with a lateral flange and a hole for the string on the edge (fig. 36, *h*). The long recovery cord is not tied to the shaft, but is held by the fisherman. Similar harpoons, known to the *Mocoví*, have been described by Baucke (1870, p. 265; see also Baucke, 1935, pl. 16). Heads of this type have been found in the Paraná Delta, where such harpoons were employed as a thrusting javelin.

During the flood season, the Indians shoot fish with bows and arrows, the *Mataco* using harpoon arrows. *Pilagá* fishermen sometimes shoot from a flimsy platform in the trees overhanging the water, where a crude fence open at both ends brings the fish within shooting range.

No Chaco tribe stupefies fish with poison. The *Mataco* and *Chorotí* lure fish by throwing the leaves of a creeper or of the bobo tree or branches of chañar into the water, and then shoot the fish when they nibble the bait.

When they wade in shallow, calm waters, usually teeming with ferocious palometa fish which may tear off large pieces of their flesh, fishermen often wear protective "stockings" knitted of caraguatá fibers or, in modern times, canvas gaiters.

Hunting.—Hunting was an important economic pursuit for all Chaco tribes, especially for those who, like the Bush *Mataco*, had no access to the river. Scarcity of game is one cause for the decline of the *Pilagá* and a factor which compels them to serve the Whites. Possession of the horse facilitated the capture of game and thus increased the economic value of hunting in several tribes. Except during the busy fishing season, one or the other person in an extended family is always engaged in hunting. Whenever a group travels to a new territory, the men scatter in search of game, while women slowly move along under their heavy burdens.

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[25] Dobrizhoffer (1784, 1: 376) describes a fishing method which has not been observed among modern Chaco Indians: "For fishing they [*Vilela* and *Payaguá*] use a very small net, two ends of which they fasten before them, as you would an apron, at the same time holding the two others with their hands. Thus accoutred they jump from the shore into the water, and if they spy any fish at the bottom, swim after it, catch it in the net, which they place under its body, and carry it to shore."

Collective hunting was more common among horsemen than among foot Indians. Parties of 20 or 30 *Mbayá* or *Mocoví* horsemen encircled a wide area and gradually closed in, driving the game to the center, where they killed the animals by hurling their clubs or by knocking them down at close range.

Burning grasslands or the bush is a common hunting method throughout the Chaco. Even if the fire does not raise large game, it always puts to flight hundreds of small rodents at which the hunters hurl short clubs with bulging heads. The charred carcasses of animals overtaken by the fire are gathered up and eaten on the spot. Later the Indians return to the fired area to stalk the countless deer lured by the salty ashes or the thick and tender new grass.

The winter hunting drives of the Bermejo River Indians also require the collaboration of many people. Two parties of about 100 men set fire to the bush along parallel lines; the animals caught between two walls of fire seek to escape at the ends, where they are met by the hunters, who kill them with spears, clubs, or arrows.

The *Mbayá* surrounded the open space between two thickets with a flimsy fence. When a herd entered the few openings in the enclosure, the Indians closed the gates with strings and killed the terrified animals. The *Mocoví* captured rheas in the same way, but used a fresh skin full of flies as a bait.

From every point of view the most desirable game are rheas, deer, and peccaries. In order to get within range of the rheas, hunters cover their heads and shoulders with bundles of grass or palm leaves and slowly approach the unsuspecting birds until within arrow or bola range. The Pilcomayo River Indians disguise themselves with rhea feathers and, stretching one arm over their head, mimic the movements of their prey so skillfully that the birds remain indifferent to their presence until they are shot. When the *Lengua* hunters discover a flock of rheas in scrub country, they block up the open spaces between the various copses with brushwood, and other Indians lying in wait at given points drive the birds toward the fence, which, however flimsy, prevents their flight (Grubb, 1913, p. 85).

The *Mbayá* shot white-lipped peccaries (*Tayassu pecari*) with arrows or clubbed them at close range, despite the danger of attacking these animals when roused. Peccaries were also driven into a river, where they were slaughtered, or into a deep ditch covered with twigs, where they fell on top of one another.

The Chaco Indians assume that red head bands or red ponchos so fascinate deer that they are unable to run away, thus allowing the hunter to walk within shooting range. They also know how to decoy animals by imitating their calls. Some hunters build blinds near watering places from which they shoot game.

The equestrian Indians did most of their hunting on horseback. Naked *Mbayá* hunters riding bareback on specially trained horses, pursued deer until they were abreast of them and could either knock them down with clubs or transfix them with spears. The use of bows and arrows was restricted to hunting in thickets where horses could not move freely.

Jaguars are surrounded by hunters armed with spears and are killed when they attempt to break through the circle of assailants. The *Mbayá* caught jaguars in a ring of fire and slew the animals with clubs and spears. They also caught them in a trap which consisted of a spring-pole noose trap. The *Mocoví* and *Mataco* combined this type of trap with a pitfall. For various traps, see figures 26, 27, and 28.

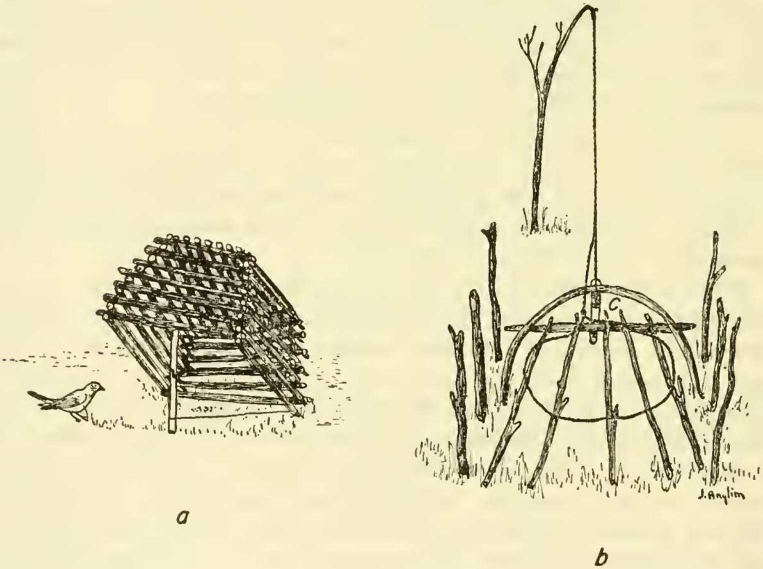

FIGURE 26.—*Mataco* traps. *a*, Bird trap; *b*, spring-pole trap; *c*, trigger releasing trap.

The marshes and lagoons of the Chaco teem with water birds which are easy to kill when they are surprised at night roosting on trees or sleeping in the pools. Hunters hurl a rain of sticks at them or confuse them with torches and kill them at their leisure.

Concealed by clumps of weeds or by calabashes, the Indians swim toward ducks and drown them by pulling them under water by the legs. Calabashes are thrown into the water previously, so that the birds become familiar with their appearance and do not suspect the ruse.

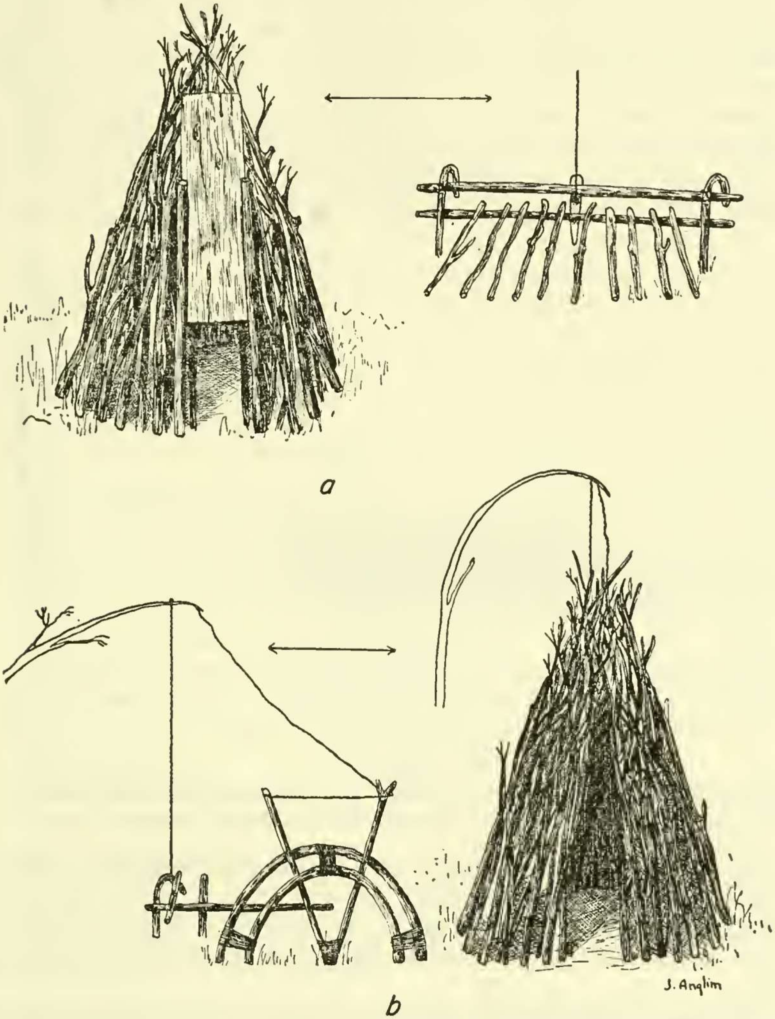

FIGURE 27.—*Mataco* traps. *a,* Fox trap with sliding door. The interior mechanism is shown at right; *b,* fox trap with interior mechanism shown at left. The V-shaped aperture is arranged inside the doorway. By entering door to get the bait, the animal releases the spring pole and is strangled.

Other animals of lesser economic value hunted by Chaco Indians are anteaters, foxes, otter, caimans, armadillos, carpinchos, iguanas, and, occasionally, tapirs. Caimans are speared along the shore or are killed with a harpoon tipped with a wooden or bone head (*Mbayá* and *Mocoví*). Otter are stalked with dogs and beaten to death with sticks.

Hunters wear hunting charms sewn into belts or in small pouches. The magic bundle for catching rheas is made of this bird's neck and contains grass, leaves, and other foods eaten by it. The *Pilagá* paint themselves black when hunting rheas, believing that the birds will not recognize them. The Indians rub their bodies with special plants to insure good luck. In order to establish a bond between themselves and the rheas which will facilitate their hunting luck, some *Lengua* bury a wooden egg in the ground and sit on it for a short while (Alarcón y Cañedo, 1924, p. 50). The *Lengua* also use wax images as hunting charms, and on the night before a hunting party, they chant to the rhythm of their rattles to lure the prey to special areas. The ancient *Mocoví* smeared their dogs' snouts and their horses with jaguar blood to make them scent the animal from afar.

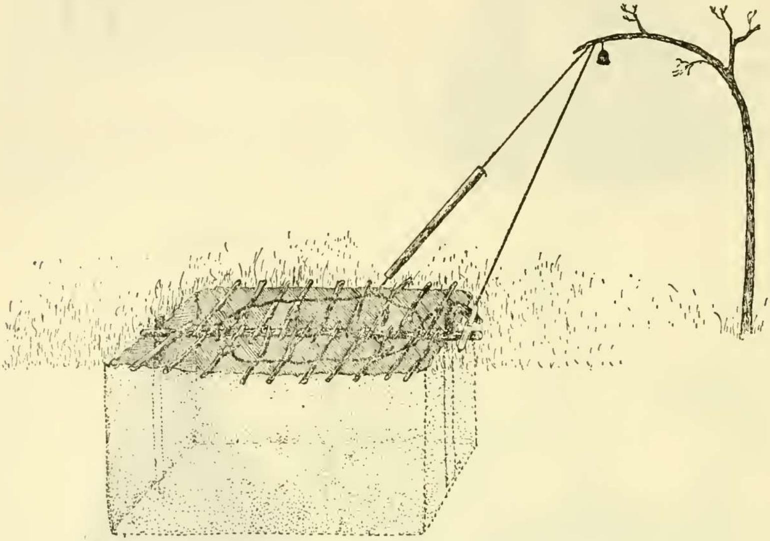

FIGURE 28.—*Mataco* jaguar trap. Schematic representation of pitfall and spring pole. Animal falling into pit releases spring pole and rings bell on tree.

Mataco and *Lengua* hunters always pluck the head feathers of birds they have shot and scatter them along the path to confuse and deceive the birds' spirits.

Distribution of game.—When several *Mbayá* hunted together, the man who dealt the animal the death blow had the first right to the carcass and directed its division among the hunters (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:202). The *Mocoví*, on the contrary, gave the game to the man who hit it first, even though someone else actually killed the animal (Fúrlong C., 1938 c, p. 106). The leader of a *Mbayá* hunting party received the heart of the slain animal.

Food taboos.—Unless influenced by some magic belief, Chaco Indians show little discrimination in the choice of their food. Those who live in harsh surroundings, like the bush *Mataco*, are least particular; without reluctance they eat anteaters, wildcats, otter, foxes, armadillos, land turtles, water serpents, frogs, snails, lizards, and rhea (ñandu) eggs in any condition.

Most Chaco Indians strongly believe that the properties of an animal are easily transmissible to those who eat its flesh. To absorb the jaguar's fierceness, the *Abipón* ate even the smallest morsel of its meat or drank its fat. But, fearing to acquire "sloth, langor and cowardice," they despised hens, sheep, and turtles. Some food taboos depend on a person's age; old people who are no longer active have no dread of certain foods. Thus *Mataco* greyheads may eat armadillos, but young people avoid them lest they become lazy because this animal turns sluggish when the air is chilly. Skunk and fox flesh likewise are tasted only by the aged. Deer marrow was greatly relished by elderly *Mocoví* males, but was strictly forbidden to young warriors for reasons stated in a myth. The *Mataco* never eat peccary lest they get toothaches and their teeth chatter as do those of this animal when it is roused. The liver of any game animal causes the teeth to decay. The *Toba* fear that the meat of the collared peccary and the domesticated pig will give them ulcers on the nose. The *Mataco* shun deer meat for unexplained reasons.

Though rhea eggs, fresh or half hatched, are a favorite food, chicken eggs are never eaten. Milk, easily obtained from cows, sheep, and goats, is shunned because it is thought to transmit undesirable traits of these animals.

Food preparation.—Meat is roasted on a spit or is boiled. The *Mataco*, *Chorotí*, *Ashluslay*, and probably many other tribes sometimes bake a large piece of game in an earth oven—a round pit, wider at the bottom than at the top—in which wood is burned. Some of the ashes are removed and the unskinned game is placed in the pit and covered with straw and soil. The *Ashluslay* and *Tsirakua* earth oven is provided with a lateral funnel.

No part of roast game is wasted. The intestines are simply squeezed and their half-digested contents often consumed as "vegetables." The Indians roast small camp rats, of which they are very fond, without even opening the carcasses.

A *Kaskihá* specialty is a sort of pie or sausage made of chopped rhea (ñandu) liver, blood, and grease stuffed in this bird's oesophagus and baked under the ashes. Any grease that remains is mixed with rhea eggs and salt and put into a bladder to be cooked in the same fashion. The *Mbayá* seem to have learned from the Spaniards how to prepare jerked meat.

Fish are inserted between the two halves of a split stick, which is stuck by the fire. Sometimes *Toba* coat fish with clay and bake them under ashes.

Broiled fish keep for a long time and are stored on the roofs of the huts. The entrails and the fat liver of fish or game are fried and the melted grease eaten as gravy with several vegetables or with the meat itself.

Most of the wild tubers collected by the *Mataco* are either boiled for a whole day or are roasted and then cooked in water. One of the most palatable foods of the bush is a creeper (*Mataco:* xwiyelax), which is first roasted and then boiled. The leaves of the edible Bromelias[26] are baked in ashes. The seeds of the same Bromelias are roasted, crushed, and boiled. Tasi fruits are roasted in ashes and eaten with fish grease.

Algarroba and tusca pods and mistol fruits are crushed in a mortar (pl. 49) and eaten mixed with water. Everybody sits around the vessel containing the mush, seizes a handful of it and sucks out the flesh, then puts the inedible seeds or skins back in the pot until nothing substantial is left. The *Ashluslay*, *Lengua*, *Mbayá*, and probably other Chaco Indians make cakes out of algarroba flour kneaded with water and baked. Chañar fruits are boiled, smashed in a mortar, and then kneaded into balls. The terminal shoots of palms are eaten raw, roasted, or boiled. To obtain the starchy pith of palm trees, the *Mbayá* extracted the long fibers imbedded in starch from the lower part of the trunk. They either pounded them in a mortar and sucked them or else dried them on a platform in the sun or over the fire, pounded them, sifted them through a net, and then made them into loaves or cakes.

Palm fruits were eaten raw in natural form or were first crushed in a mortar; they were often boiled to make a thick mush. The fruits (cocos) of the namogologi palms (mbocayá, *Acrocomia totai*) were eaten raw or were first roasted in the ashes; the kernels were broken to extract the seeds, and those with flesh still adhering were boiled into a thick syrup. Modern *Toba* pound the pith of the caranday palms (*Copernicia cerifera*) in a mortar and then boil it into a mush. The Lengua grate palm pith to make it into a flour for cakes.

Young tender maize is generally roasted in ashes or boiled in water. The grains of mature maize are boiled. The *Mataco*, like the *Chiriguano*, roast the maize grains, pound them, and make a mush with the flour.

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[26] One species is used only for rope making.

The seeds of the naranja del monte require lengthy treatment to soften them and remove their bitterness. They are pounded in a mortar to break the hull, which is then peeled by hand. Then they are piled in a bag and immersed in water for a whole night, after which they are cooked in several waters and sometimes mashed again in a mortar.

The fruits of the sachasandia must be boiled five times in different waters to get rid of their poisonous element.

At the end of summer, the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River Indians consume large quantities of pods which appear and taste like string beans and are therefore called "porotos del monte" (*Capparis retusa*). They must be boiled in five different waters to remove the bitter taste.

Food storage.—In summer the Indians gather great quantities of algarroba or chañar which last several months after the harvest, but seldom tide them over the actual period of scarcity in winter. The main food reserves consist of porotos del monte, dried naranja del monte (*Capparis speciosa*), the poisonous fruits of the sachasandia (*Capparis salicifolia*), and smoked or dried pumpkins. To preserve them, the porotos del monte and the naranja del monte are often baked in an earth oven before exposure to the sun. The seeds of the naranja del monte are boiled and sun dried until they are as hard as stone and will keep for more than a year. At harvest time, the *Mataco*, like the ancient *Mbayá*, make winter provisions of pumpkins. The pumpkins are cut into halves, which are sun dried or smoked on a wooden platform. The seeds are roasted. The ancient *Mbayá* boiled pumpkin seeds, pounded them in a mortar, and then boiled them again until they turned into a thick mush. Preserved foods are heaped in some corner of the hut or in special granaries.

Storehouses, quite common among the *Mataco* but rare in the eastern Chaco, are built like the *Chiriguano* pile granaries, but are far smaller (pl. 51). The roof, built above a low platform, is flat and the walls are imperfectly closed with branches. These storehouses contain the fruits pooled by the women of the household and become their common property. If somebody in the family asks for a gift of algarroba, the headwoman of the household makes the distribution.

Some Chaco Indians—especially the *Mbayá*—feast on the fat beetle larvae that thrive in plam trees. These are fried in their own grease.

Condiments.—Chaco Indians season their food with the ashes of various plants, e. g., vidriera (*Mocoví*, *Abipón*), saladillo (*Ashluslay*), and oe bush (*Toba*). Tribes living near the Andes obtain rock salt from the *Chiriguano* or *Quechua* of the region of Tarija, where large salt deposits have been the object of a continuous trade since pre-Hispanic times.

The *Toba* season their food with small oval fruits which taste like pepper and are called ajá del monte.

Cooking utensils.—The Chaco tribes who raise manioc, such as the *Ashluslay*, *Chorotí*, and certain *Mataco* groups, grate it on rasps made of a piece of wood with imbedded wooden splinters. This instrument is probably rare since its existence is reported only by Nordenskiöld.

To open and scale fish, the Indians formerly used a square, sharp-edged piece of hard wood, which today is often replaced by a wooden imitation of a steel knife.

Calabashes and shells serve respectively as plates and spoons, but true wooden spoons (fig. 32, *b*) were carved by the Indians near the Cordillera who were subjected to Andean influence. In many tribes (*Toba*, *Ashluslay*, etc.), horn spoons have become quite popular since the introduction of cattle. The *Pilagá* also make long oval clay dippers which have replaced shells. The *Mocoví* had rawhide spoons which they shaped by molding the wet skin in a hole in the ground.

Mortars are dug out of palm or espinillo (*Acacia* sp.) tree stumps and are always sufficiently small to be carried easily during the frequent group migrations (fig. 35, *b*, *c*). The handles of the digging sticks are used as pestles. When traveling, the *Mocoví* and the *Ashluslay* may improvise mortars by digging pits in the ground and lining them with skins or with hard clay.

DOMESTICATED ANIMALS

Dogs.—Modern Chaco Indians are surrounded by packs of famished dogs, which are a constant threat to food and to any object within their reach. The attitude toward dogs is peculiar. The Indians starve and maltreat them (pl. 74), but they would be grievously offended if anyone were to kill them. The ravenous animals devour everything they can gnaw, from algarroba pods to skins and human excrement. They bark at the slightest noise and thus are useful as watchdogs, though they respond alike to the approach of animals and men. The *Pilagá* and *Mataco* train their dogs to hunt peccaries, rabbits, or iguanas, and to force armadillos out of their burrows. The *Mataco* are proud of the dogs that "feed themselves," that is, those capable of catching rabbits on their own.

The ancient *Abipón* and *Mbayá* were more kindly disposed toward their dogs than the Pilcomayo River Indians. Women would suckle puppies, and would always make sure that no dogs were left when they moved camp. They rewarded hunting dogs with the entrails of game.

Zoologically, Chaco dogs are mongrels of varied European strains, but if Krieg (1939) is correct, some may have aboriginal Indian canine ancestors. There is some historical evidence that the Chaco Indians did not have domesticated dogs before their contacts with the Whites. The *Machicuy* (a *Mascoi* tribe) received their first dogs at the end of the 18th century, and the *Mbayá* must have acquired them only a little sooner.

Livestock.—Most of the Chaco tribes early began to herd sheep, probably at the end of the 17th century, and owned large flocks. Next to horses, they most frequently stole sheep from the Whites. In an *Ashluslay* village of about 400 inhabitants, Nordenskiöld (1912, p. 55) counted 500 sheep and goats.

Weaving, probably of little importance in the pre-Hispanic era, developed considerably after the introduction of sheep. Mutton and the flesh of other domesticated animals were shunned by the *Ashluslay.*

The *Abipón* and *Mocoví* stole thousands of cattle in raids on the Spanish ranches, but never became herdsmen like the *Goajiro.* Most of the cattle were slaughtered to provide for immediate needs and the stock replenished by further raids. Not long ago the *Mbayá* hunted the wild cattle roaming in their territory exactly as they did deer. Nordenskiöld's *Ashluslay* village had also about 200 cows and the same number of horses.

Goats are fairly common in native villages of the Pilcomayo River region. They are also kept for their flesh. Indians, as a rule, have always expressed the greatest disgust for milk.

Donkeys are in great demand among the western tribes, who never have had many horses. They carry the stores of algarroba and the furniture during camp migrations, thus relieving the women from their heaviest duty.

Chickens spread through the Chaco with great rapidity, but never played an important part in Indian economy.

In addition to the large number of domesticated animals, the Indians like to keep pets. *Abipón* women are said to have nursed baby otter.

The *Guaná*, *Mbayá*, and *Mocoví*, like many Amazonian tribes, plucked the feathers of tame green parrots and rubbed the bare spots with urucú or with other pigments. The new feathers grew in yellow, the favorite color for feather ornaments (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:215–216).

Horses.—The *Abipón* and *Mbayá* must have had enormous herds of horses, if Dobrizhoffer does not exaggerate when he reports that from some raids a warrior would come back with at least 400 horses and that 100,000 horses were captured by the *Abipón* within about 50 years. The 380 *Caduveo* who in 1802 settled at Albuquerque had 1,200; the *Mbayá* of the region of Coimbra had from 6,000 to 8,000 horses. The possession of so many horses forced these Indians to look for suitable pastures and modified their whole economy.

The *Mbayá* took good care of their horses. They bled them when sick, picked out their worms, and when a foal was born during a journey, carried it on another horse (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 2:298).

In both training and trapping, the Indians tended to follow Spanish styles. When, for instance, they noticed the Spanish gaited horses, they did their best to train their own horses in the same way. Indian horses were remarkably well adapted to Chaco life. They ran across the bush, dodging palms and thorny trees without guidance by the rider. They were also so well trained for hunting that they responded immediately to the slightest touch when game was seen or heard. Some *Abipón* horses were taught to wait for their masters without stirring, and the *Mbayá* horses were so tame that their riders could mount by stepping up on the horses' knees.

The *Mbayá* broke in their horses by riding them in a marsh until they were exhausted; consequently their horses could cross swamps with great ease.

When the Indians first adopted the horse, they had too few contacts with the Spaniards to be able to acquire their elaborate trappings. The bit was often a rope or a piece of leather tied around the horse's lower jaw. Saddles were quite rare and were seldom used by men. Even in 1762, *Mbayá* men rode bareback, although women used saddles. Gradually, however, the Indians became more interested in the complicated bits and saddles which were the pride of the Creole horsemen. The 18th-century *Abipón* and *Mocoví* made wooden or horn imitations of the iron curb bits of the Spaniards. In the same period, the *Mbayá* guided their horses either with a simple wooden bit or with a strap tied around the horse's lower jaw, to which a head stall of leather or of woman's hair was attached. The forehead band was trimmed with metal plates, beads, and bells. The *Mocoví* bridles and halters were often braided with leather strips mixed with feather quills which stood out as an ornament.

The *Abipón* saddle is described by Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:120) as a "raw bull hide stuffed with reed bundles." These two bundles (bastos), which rest on both sides of the horse's spine and prevent saddle sores, were also part of the *Mbayá*, *Mocoví*, and *Pilagá* saddles. Over the bundles, the *Mbayá* placed several rush mats covered by a large deerskin or by blankets embroidered with beads. Jaguar skins were regarded by the *Abipón* as the most elegant saddle covers.

The *Mocoví* and *Pilagá* horsemen were the only Chaco Indians who used rudimentary stirrups and spurs. Their stirrups were either a wooden ring large enough for the insertion of one toe or a simple stick or disk on which the rider could place two toes. The spurs, of which they never used more than one, were a simple forked branch attached to the heel with the projecting stem somewhat sharpened (fig. 32, *g*).

Abipón men mounted their horses from the right, leaning on their long spears; women got up from the left without any help.

Mocoví women saddled and pastured their husbands' horses. The *Mocoví* attached stuffed rheas (ñandus) on the back of their horses to frighten the flies away.

The *Mbayá* caught their horses with a loop attached at the end of a long pole or with bolas, methods learned from the mission *Guaraní* (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:245).

HOUSES AND VILLAGES

The Indians of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo Rivers live in crude and primitive houses which contrast sharply with their achievements in other arts and crafts. House construction is the women's task. With digging sticks they make an oval or sometimes a circular set of holes into which they plant small tree trunks or stout limbs, with the thick ends down, and the lateral branches uncut to add to the solidity of the structure. The slender tips, bent inward, interlace to form a vaulted frame on which are thrown loose palm leaves or grass or both. Such roofs afford some protection against the sun but not against the rain, which drenches those who do not take shelter under skins or reed mats. These dwellings are never high enough for one to stand upright. They are entered through one or more low openings, on one side of which a rudimentary screen projects slightly so as to form in certain cases a short porch or vestibule of branches or leaves.

As a rule, groups of related families reside in long communal houses which are merely a series of individual huts linked together end to end, without internal partitions. Each comparment has a separate exit.

The *Pilagá* and *Ashluslay* house (pl. 50) often has an ellipsoidal ground plan with one slightly concave side. Long houses sometimes face each other across a wide street or plaza. Under Mestizo influence, the *Pilagá* (pl. 51), *Toba*, *Macá*, and *Ashluslay* build long communal houses which, from the outside, look like their primitive huts, but actually have a rigid framework with a ridge pole and rafters hidden under a thick layer of leaves or grass. Houses with the modernized structure are, however, higher than the ancient ones and often one long side remains open. The *Toba* near the Paraguay River construct similar houses with flat roofs and walls of rush mats. The Mestizo hut, with its flat roof resting on forked tree trunks and its grass or reed walls, has been imitated wherever the Indians are in close contact with civilization. Temporary huts are cruder than the more permanent dwellings; their framework is reduced to a few sticks and the grass covering is scant and runs only halfway down.

The *Chamacoco*, *Lengua*, *Mbayá*, *Abipón*, *Toba*, *Pilagá*, and *Payaguá*[27] camp under bulrush mats laid on a flimsy framework of sticks, or stretch on the low branches of some tree (*Chamacoco*, *Caipotorade*). Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:127) describes these "tents" as follows: To two poles in the ground, they tie a mat folded two or three times to make a wind and rain shield. A ditch dug beside the tent drains off rain water. Some temporary *Lengua* or *Ashluslay* villages are composed of one or more long lines of such mat-houses. The *Mocoví* and *Payaguá* build identical wind screens often of skins instead of bulrushes. The *Pilagá* use mat wind screens or sunshades in their more permanent villages. When moving, the Indians roll up the mats, wrapping within them most of their belongings, and women carry them on their backs or load them on horses or donkeys.

When camping in the open, the *Mataco* heap branches and grass against a row of sticks planted in the ground. The *Chamacoco* settled near trading stations sleep in corrals of several semicircular lean-tos joined together.

Circular camps seem to have been distinctive of the ancient *Zamucoans*. One of their nomadic tribes, the now extinct *Caipoterade*, are said always to have arranged their flimsy mat cabins around a circular plaza (Muriel, 1918, p. 208).

The largest and strongest houses in the Chaco are those of the northern tribes: *Sanapaná*, *Kaskihá*, *Guaná*, and *Mbayá-Guaicurú*. They are simple gable roofs supported by three parallel rows of vertical posts. One wing of the roof slopes almost to the ground, forming the back of the house, and the other projects beyond the wall plate to form a continuous porch along the open front. The narrow ends either remain open or are shut with mats or slanting poles.[28] The ancient *Mbayá* covered their hut frames with bulrush mats which were tied together, and sometimes added a few supplementary rows of low vertical posts so as to extend the matting closer to the ground. According to the weather, they lowered or raised these mats and they always had a few in storage to close the gaps through which rain might penetrate. The wet rushes expanded making the mats waterproof. When moving to new pastures, the *Mbayá* carried the strong bamboo house rafters and the mat walls. *Kaskihá* huts formerly were thatched with reeds; today they are roofed with split caranday (*Copernicia cerifera*) trunks.

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[27] The *Payaguá* had high huts for summer, low ones for winter. "En cuanto la construcción siempre es igual y se reduce a plantar cinco palitos de horqueta que forman por sus traviesas la figura de tejado. Se atraviesan algunas cañas y lo cubren con sus esteras. Queda sin mas muebles ni trabajo hecha la casa y para quitar la fuerza del viento que pasaría por el toldo le cierran por la parte de varlovento con las mismas esteras a pique" (Aguirre, 1911, p. 332).

[28] For a description of the *Kaskihá* hut, see Cominges, 1892, p. 176. For the *Mbayá* hut, see Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1: 268–274.

Mbayá houses were set end to end in a horseshoe or semicircular plan around a plaza which was kept scrupulously clean, and from which horses were excluded (pl. 52). The chief's house was always in the middle of the row; among modern *Mbayá-Caduveo*, it is larger and better built than the others. The space between the front and the central posts of each house was left free and formed a kind of passage around the village. The divisions between the individual huts were marked by forked poles from which hung various objects (pl. 52).

In the 18th century, the long *Guaná* huts, like *Paressí* communal houses, had an arched roof descending to the ground and rounded extremities. The framework consisted of flexible poles, which were bent and tied in the middle. These huts were from 50 to 65 feet (16 to 20 m.) long, 26 feet (8 m.) wide, and 16 to 20 feet (5 to 6 m.) high. They were artfully covered with a straw thatching in which were smoke holes. The doors, 1 at each end and 3 along one of the long sides, were closed with mats. Each hut housed an extended family sometimes consisting of 12 biological families. The houses were grouped around a large rectangular plaza.

The *Guarañoca* of the northern Chaco live in conical huts about 7 feet (2 m.) high and 9 to 12 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) in diameter. The frame of sticks supported by a central post, is covered with leaves, mud, and twigs (Oefner, 1942, p. 103).

The temporary huts of the *Sanapaná*, *Angaité*, *Sapukí* and *Kaskihá* are flimsy structures identical to the beehive houses of the Pilcomayo region. When camping in the bush, the *Guarañoca* enclosed their shelters with a circle of thorny branches.

When selecting a village site, the Indians take into consideration, first, security, and, second, proximity to water, food supply, and pastures for horses and cattle. For safety, they prefer the edge of the bush into which they can run if they are surprised by an attack. The *Kaskihá* are the only Indians who place their villages on hilltops. Location is frequently changed seasonally or following a death. In the northern Chaco where water is scarce, villages are more permanent and houses are often better built.

The size of the settlements varies considerably; some have about 50 inhabitants, others, especially the *Ashluslay*, 1,000.

As a rule, the Indians stay and even sleep out of doors unless excessive heat or rain forces them to crawl into their huts. The *Mataco*, *Choroti*, *Ashluslay*, and *Macá* erect simple square sheds in front of their huts under which they cook or now and then take a nap. The *Pilagá* and *Ashluslay* are apparently the only Chaco

Indians who have a club house, that is, a shelter where men meet and sometimes spend the night. Some *Pilagá* and *Ashluslay* villages have a crude palisade before the houses, which serves as the backwall of a series of open sheds under which to sit and chat or work.

FURNITURE

Most Chaco huts contain no furniture other than rough skins with the hairy side underneath or rush mats, which are their beds and seats. The *Mataco*, *Toba*, and *Lengua*, who have been under Mestizo influence, sleep on crude bedsteads. When the *Guaná* lived in the Chaco they slept on mats though they were already good weavers and certainly had not forgotten the use of the hammock. In the middle of the 19th century, hammocks figured among the best articles which they made to trade with the Neo-Brazilians. Hammocks were also used by the mission *Zamuco*. Among the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River tribes, fiber hammocks, though commonly used, serve only as cradles for babies. The *Mocoví* cradle was a skin attached to two posts.

The *Mbayá*, *Kaskihá*, and *Guaná* after their migration to Matto Grosso built low, sloping platforms, made of split palms, along the back of the dwelling (pl. 52). They covered these with mats, which, rolled up during the day, served as seats. The *Chamacoco* protected themselves from the moist soil with a rough palm-trunk floor.

In every Chaco hut there hangs from the interlaced twigs of the roof, skin bags, carrying nets containing ornaments, seeds, spun and unspun wool, drugs, and all sorts of possessions. The bows and arrows are thrust into the thatching. On the floor, pots and calabashes add to the confusion and untidiness of these hovels.

The *Chamacoco* and *Morotoco* defend themselves against the swarms of mosquitoes which plague them with a mosquito swatter consisting of a piece of twined fiber cloth attached like a flag to a short handle. The *Guató* use similar mosquito flaps.

DRESS AND ORNAMENTS

The aboriginal Chaco dress, like that of ancient Patagonia and the Pampa, seems to have been a simple skin cloak worn by both men and women in cold weather. In pre-Conquest times, as today, cotton blankets were probably in use among some of the northern tribes. Very likely the Indians along the foothills of the Andes had some llama wool garments.[29] As soon as the Chaco Indians obtained flocks of sheep, the skin cloak gave way to a woolen blanket, which by the

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[29] Some 17th-century documents mention cloaks (mantas) of caraguatá fibers among the Indians of the region of Tucumán and Salta. (See Tommasini, 1937, p. 79.)

18th century was common among the *Abipón* and in recent days has become the distinctive garment of the Pilcomayo tribes. Creole styles have also influenced the Indian dress. The poncho (pls. 53; 59, *top*), for instance, has found wide acceptance in many tribes since the 18th century. Among the *Toba* and their neighbors, some men on solemn occasions donned sleeveless coats, woven on the native loom but copied from European patterns. The men's skirt of the Pilcomayo River natives probably was not used before cotton cloth was readily accessible; it is reported only in recent times.

Chaco women usually preserved the native costume more faithfully than men, and dressed in skins long after men had discarded them for woven fabrics.

Complete nakedness is reported only for *Chamacoco* and *Guarañoca* men, though even these put on sleeveless caraguatá shirts on cold winter days; women always wear a perineal band. *Tsirakua* and *Guarañoca* women wear a small apron or a skirt of caraguatá or doraha fibers and, occasionally, throw a cape of the same material over their shoulders. The caraguatá apron was probably more common in the past than it is today, as it is often reported in the 18th century for the *Lule-Vilela* women. The feather skirts or aprons allegedly worn by men in the latter tribes were probably ceremonial garments, not daily attire.

The Pilcomayo River Indians discard all clothes, except a breechclout or a wide fringed girdle, whenever their activities require freedom of the limbs.

Skin robes.—Robes were originally made of several skins of otter (coypu, *Myocastor coypus*), deer, or fox, sewn together and worn with the hairy side against the body. The outer surface was decorated with crude black and red geometrical patterns[30] (pls. 56; 59, *bottom*). Both sexes wrapped the folded mantle around the waist and fastened it either by a belt or by tucking one end under the other. In bad weather they threw the upper part of the robe over their shoulders or even over their heads, and held it in front with the hand or fastened it with a thorn over one shoulder.[31] Skin robes have now disappeared altogether and have been replaced by blankets of wool (*Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Mataco*, *Choroti*, *Macá*, *Lengua*, etc.) or cotton (*Payaguá*, *Kaskihá*, and other *Mascoi* tribes).

Skirts.—Knee-length skirts are worn by women in all the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River tribes. Before cotton goods were available these were made of either deer (pl. 59, *bottom*) or goat skins from which the hair had been scratched or, very rarely, of wool. Skirts were held up around the waist by a caraguatá rope or, among the *Mataco*, by a wide leather belt.

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[30] A *Mataco* robe acquired by Nordenskiöld at the beginning of the century is made of 15 skins, each decorated with its own individual pattern painted in two distinct manners. The thin-line designs are based on a series of squares, lozenges, and zigzags "obviously suggestive of old time decorations of the *Charrua* and *Tehuelche*" (Lothrop, 1929).

[31] *Mocoví* cloaks had skin straps at two corners to tie them over the left shoulder. To these straps they fastened a small tobacco box, made of the tip of a cow horn, or tubes containing needles for scarification (Baucke, 1870, p. 251).

Skirts were used by women long before European contact. Cotton skirts are already mentioned by Schmidel in the 16th century (1903, p. 193) as the only garment of the *Comagua* women of the lower Bermejo River, and the *Frentón* women of Concepción are described in 1609 as wearing skin skirts. *Guarañoca* females in the northern Chaco wear a caraguatá cloth around the waist.

Men's skirts among the Pilcomayo River tribes generally reach the ankles and lap over in front. The skirts of *Mbayá* men bore designs and snail-shell disk spangles.

Mbayá and *Guaná* women wore a square cloth which passed between the legs and was fastened around the waist.[32] Outdoors they wrapped themselves from head to foot in a large cotton blanket or tied a shorter one over their breasts when at work. Such blankets, which were fastened around the waist with a belt, were often beautifully striped or studded with rows of shell disks (Prado, 1839, p. 30).

Shirts, jackets, and tunics.—Sleeveless shirts, netted in the same crochetlike technique as bags, are used primarily as armor and as ceremonial garments (fig. 29), but also may afford protection against excessive cold (*Mataco*, *Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Ashluslay*, and others).

Jaguar-skin jackets, with or without sleeves, were among the most prized possessions of *Toba*, *Mocoví*, *Abipón*, and *Mbayá* men. They were worn mainly at war or on solemn occasions. In modern times some *Toba* and *Pilagá* men strut in jackets that are of European cut, but are tailored of otter, jaguar, and even of stork skins.

As a symbol of their profession, *Mbayá* shamans donned narrow tunics (camisetas) which hung to their feet.[33]

Tipoys.—Among the *Chorotí* and *Toba*, who live under the direct influence of the *Chiriguano*, some women dress in a tipoy, i. e., a cylindrical tunic held up over the shoulders with pins.

Belts.—Native taste for color and elegant design is best expressed in woolen belts. Throughout the Chaco, belts of wool, and sometimes of cotton, are usually woven in a compound technique, i. e., the geometrical figures appear on both sides in reverse colors.

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[32] Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1: 280: "Es mantita como de vara en cuadro. Cinenea con dos puntas a la cintura y las otras dos puntas se levantan, quedando formados unos calzones."

[33] Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1: 283: "Redúcese a una como bata ó vestido talar, que descansando sobre los hombros, les llega hasta los tobillos. Su forma conviene con la de las camisetas ó poncho, de los cuales se diferencia en ser la mitad más angosta y en estar por los dos lados cosida, menos por donde sacan los brazos ó como agujeros de mangas. Por la parte de arriba dejan abertura para sacar la cabeza; por el de abajo está abierto del todo para poder caminar, aunque el corte es tan estrecho que les impide dar pasos largos. Vense así obligados á medirlos con gravedad, segun pide su profesión embustera. El color de las lanas de que son ordinariamente, no es del todo blanco, ni negro, sino vario; en el telar sacan listas de pardo y colorado que declina en morado."

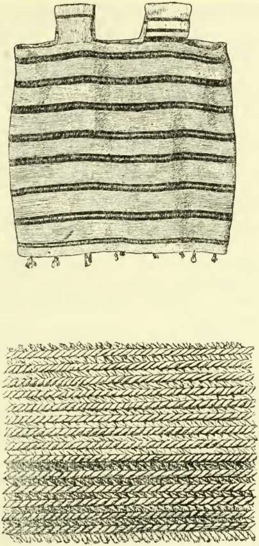

FIGURE 29.—*Choroti* mail shirt. *Top:* Knitted of caraguatá string. Worn principally as a protection against arrows. *Bottom:* Enlarged detail of mail shirt (natural size). (After Rosen, 1924, figs. 36, 37.)

The geometric motives which enliven the *Pilagá*, *Macá*, and *Ashluslay* belts follow elaborate patterns (fig. 38), each peculiar to a tribe or even a band. Some *Pilagá* and *Mataco* belts with bright contrasting colors are finger-woven. Bead embroidery is characteristic of *Mbayá-Caduveo* and *Chamacoco* belts. The ancient *Mbayá* woolen belts were not only covered with embroidered blue beads, but were also studded with large brass plates; some elegant persons attached large bells to their belts (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:281). Woolen belts are rarely worn by women, who generally are content with a leather belt (*Mataco*) or a simple cord.

Pilcomayo River Indians, who are otherwise unclothed, may now and then be seen wearing broad fringed skin girdles, which are said formerly to have been used only during war or at dances. These are frequently studded with large real or imitation Spanish coins.

Footgear.—The Chaco sandals bear a strong resemblance to those of the Andean region. The sole is held to the foot by a leather strap which encloses the heel and by a thong which runs around the instep and passes between two toes (pl. 58, *c*). The *Tsirakua* and *Morotoco* alone in South America wear rectangular wooden sandals. In general, however, the Indians only put on their sandals when they have to step on hot soil or cross a thorny tract. In similar circumstances the *Toba*, *Lengua*, and *Macá* may cover their feet with crude moccasins made of a piece of skin tied in front and laced along the instep (pl. 58, *b*). To penetrate a thicket, some Indians wear leggings of raw cow or deer hide.

Protection against the sun.—When traveling on horseback, upper class *Mocoví*, *Abipón*, and *Mbayá* women protected their complexion from the sun with a bunch of rhea feathers, which they somehow balanced on their shoulders.

Old *Mbayá* men wore basketry or feather visors to shade their eyes from the sun.[34]

Bags.—A little bag, slung across the shoulder, to carry pipes, scarification needles, and string is part of the traditional outfit of most Chaco Indians. These bags are generally made of caraguatá fibers in a netted or looped technique; woolen bags are knitted, though the best specimens are finger-woven.

Men's ornaments far exceed women's in variety and number. Women often wear only a simple necklace or some unpretentious bracelets.

Feather ornaments.—The *Chamacoco* are the only Chaco Indians whose featherwork compares with that of the Amazonian tribes. The scarcity of birds with bright plumage, however, reduces feathers

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[34] Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1: 284, "Otros llevan esta visera de pluma o de dos alas pequeñas de algun pájaro."

(mostly rhea and heron) to a secondary role in the ornamentation of the Pilcomayo natives (fig. 32, *c*).

Feathers used in adornments are often dyed red or pink or are artistically cut with notches and stepped edges. The ancient *Guaná*, *Mbayá*, and *Mocoví* were familiar with tapirage (see p. 265). *Chamacoco* tied or glued small feathers to larger ones.

Beadwork.—Beads of shell and, in post-Columbian times, of glass are strung into necklaces or are sewn as spangles on textiles and even on solid objects—for example, on rattles. Here again, Andean influences may be surmised. The *Pilagá*, *Ashluslay*, *Lengua*, and probably others make elaborate beadwork bands by threading glass beads on a simple loom, an art which the Indians learned from the missionaries, who introduced beads into the Chaco. These bands are made, according to size, into necklaces, pendants, bracelets, rings, and small pouches (pl. 57, *a*, *c*) to hang from the neck as ornaments. Beads of different colors are combined into simple geometrical patterns, such as lozenges and triangles.

Head bands, hair fillets, and bags as a rule are embellished with tassels.

Headdress.—Often the headdress consists of a simple rhea or egret feather or a tuft of feathers mounted on a stick, which is fixed in the queue or passed through a fillet over the forehead. The Pilcomayo River Indians occasionally wear diadems made of a row of feathers fastened to a string or a narrow fillet.

The classic *Chamacoco* headdress is a wide band of bright feathers combined into a mosaic of colors. Though the feathers seem to be fastened to a tight net, actually they are tied to several individual strings woven into a single fabric by transverse strings. Some of these frontlets are wide enough to be called "feather bonnets."

The distinctive headdress of men in the southern tribes (*Mataco*, *Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Macá*, *Lengua*, *Ashluslay*) is a red woolen band bedecked with shell disks or glass beads arranged into simple geometrical figures (triangles, lozenges) and fringed with natural (spoonbill or flamingo) or dyed scarlet feathers sewn along the upper edge (pl. 57, *g*). These frontlets are generally made of belts fitted to the head with the fringed ends falling down the back. The *Mataco* use frontlets of jaguar skin (pl. 57, *h*).

Warriors, hockey players, and dancers cover their heads with a red hair net (fig. 30; pl. 57, *f*), knitted in a macramélike technique and studded with shell disks. Such caps are sometimes made entirely of beads strung on a netlike foundation.

The ancient *Toba*, *Abipón*, and *Mbayá* covered their heads with bird skins to which they fastened open wings, like a Valkyrie helmet. They often attached a toucan beak to their woolen head bands.

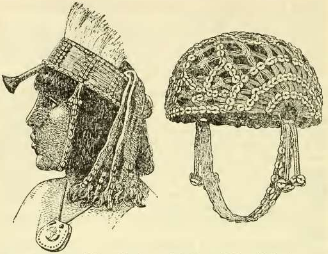

FIGURE 30.—*Lengua* and *Choroti* headgear. *Left: Lengua* Indian with head ornament and feather tuft. A whistle hangs from his neck. (After Hawtrey, 1901, fig. 2.) *Right: Choroti* hair net with red chin strap of woolen yarn, and snail-shell spangles (about ⅖ natural size). (After Rosen, 1924, fig. 46.)

Many Indians push under their frontlets a brush of false hair or of black feathers trimmed like hair, which stands erect or droops over the forehead (figs. 30; 32, *d*). This is an imitation of the natural tuft of hair which is drawn from the top of the head and tied into a small brush. Before a battle, the *Toba* and other Pilcomayo River Indians fix in their head band a thread cross to which they ascribe some magic influence.

Toba children weave simple crowns of palm leaves though their tribe is ignorant of basketry (pl. 57, *i*). *Mataco* and *Toba* youths make themselves diadems with the painted backbones of fish.

The large-brimmed straw hats of the *Mbayá-Caduveo* are copied from European models.

Ear ornaments.—The large wooden plugs or disks which both sexes insert into the distended ear lobes are among the most typical Chaco ornaments. The ear lobes, which may almost reach the shoulders, are progressively distended from childhood on by first inserting straws or thin pegs and later larger plugs. These earplugs, some 3 inches (7.5 cm.) in diameter, are painted, fire engraved, mounted with brass plates, or studded with shell disks. *Lengua* shamans glue mirrors to the front surface of their plugs in order to see the reflection of the spirits. The ancient *Abipón* wore in their ear lobes small pieces of cow's horn, wood, or bone, a woolen thread of various colors, or a little knot of horn.

Formerly, *Vilela*, *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Toba*, and *Mascoi* women forced into the ear lobe a narrow, tightly spiraled strip of palm leaf, which gradually distended it to large proportions. Even recently some old *Chorotí* and *Toba* could be seen with their ear lobes reduced to a thin ring of flesh, but nowadays the fashion has been altogether abandoned.

The *Chamacoco* do not practice this deformation and only pass through the lobes feathered sticks or cords with feather tassels, triangular shells, or deer hoofs hanging from the ends. Indians who have been exposed to European contact wear silver (*Mbayá*) or glass bead (*Toba*, *Pilagá*, and others) pendants. The silver pendants of the ancient *Mbayá* were cut in the shape of crescents or animals. Sometimes they inserted in the ear lobe a tin tube or a reed full of urucú and decorated at the front end with a brass disk (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:281). *Mbayá* men attached a chain of palm-nut rings from ear to ear across the back of the neck. This rare ornament was also worn by the *Huari*.

Nose ornaments.—The *Mocoví* were the only Chaco Indians to thrust a stick through the perforated septum of the nose.

Lip ornaments.—The ancient *Lengua* (Tongue), ancestors of modern *Macá*, received their name because of a semicircular wooden ornament worn in a long cut in their lower lip which resembled a second tongue sticking out of the chin (Azara, 1809, 2:150). A similar wooden lip plug was used by the early *Mascoi*, but neither their descendants, the modern *Lengua*, nor the *Macá* remember wearing a labret. *Chamacoco* men formerly passed a T-shaped reed 3 inches (7.5 cm.) long through their lower lip.

Wooden lip plugs enclosed in a silver plate and labrets of silver or brass were distinctive men's ornaments among the *Guaicuruan* tribes (*Guachí*, *Payaguá*, *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Mbayá*,[35] and also the *Guaná*). Wooden *Payaguá* labrets were as much as a palm long. *Abipón* boys had their lips perforated at the age of 7; *Payaguá* boys when they were about 4 years old. The operation was performed with a sharp reed or, in post-Columbian times, with a red-hot iron (*Abipón*).

The *Mocoví* passed feathers into a series of holes punctured across their cheeks from nose to ears so that "they looked as if wings were growing on their faces" (Baucke, 1870, p. 246). Often they wore in their lower lip a rhea feather instead of a wooden plug (pl. 55).

Necklaces.—Chaco Indians set great value on necklaces of small round disks made of snail shells (*Megalobulimus oblongus.*) (pl. 53). As the shaping and perforation of the disks entails time and patience, the longer necklaces—some measure from 40 to 65 feet (12 to 20 m.) and even more—rank as highly prized possessions. Some articles are valued in terms of necklaces of a certain length, which in such cases play the part of money. Unfortunately, information on this subject is scant.

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[35] The *Mbayá* also wore labrets of wood, bone, or fish bone (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:281).

To display wealth, men sling across their chest several bunches of snail-shell necklaces tied together with red woolen strings with tassels at the extremities.

A necklace popular among the *Choroti*, *Ashluslay*, *Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Lengua*, *Angaité*, and others consists of a row of rectangular pieces of mussel shell with both lateral edges slightly concave and the surfaces, which are very much like mother-of-pearl, decorated with a series of half-drilled holes.

The broad, showy beadwork collars are fashionable only in tribes that, through contact with missionaries, are abundantly supplied with European beads. Many *Mataco* and *Pilagá* tie round their necks a leather collar or a woolen band studded with shell disks. Both *Mbayá* and *Mocoví* made the tin and silver plates acquired from the Spaniards into tubes and pendants. The silver crescents and other jingles which the *Mbayá-Caduveo* women wear around the neck are shaped after ancient wooden prototypes used in pre-Columbian days.

Although they were occasionally worn by the *Mbayá*, today only the *Chamacoco* wear feather collars, which they make of heron feathers.

Simple necklaces of seeds, animal teeth, or pieces of straw are rarely worn today, but still can be seen now and then.

Pendants.—*Pilagá*, *Ashluslay*, and *Macá* men often suspend from their neck a pair of beadwork pendants with a simple geometric design and a row of tassels along the lower edge. *Mataco* women wear cruder netlike pendants in beadwork. *Mbayá* noblewomen had tufts of yellow feathers falling over their breasts and backs from a necklace.

Armlets and bracelets.—As a rule, no ornaments except an occasional strip of palm leaves are worn around the upper arm. The *Mbayá*, however, tied around their arms a feather band or a row of metal plates. The *Mbayá* bracelets were made of beads, of small metal plates, or of leather studded with beads and with fringes trimmed with beads and small metal tubes (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:282). Modern bracelets are generally either strips of skin studded with brass plates or narrow bands of bird skin. Most women in the Pilcomayo River area tie around their wrists a deerskin strap with the hoofs of the animal left as an ornament. Such bracelets are said to possess magic virtues and now and then are converted into knuckle dusters when their owner challenges some rival (fig. 32, *f*).

Waist ornaments.—The feather belts of the *Chamacoco* and also perhaps of the *Mbayá* consisted of rows of feathers (from a kind of stork) mounted on a string or of feather tassels hanging from a cord. In the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River areas shamans and dancers (*Mataco*, *Ashluslay*, and *Macá*) participating in magic ceremonies don a sort of skirt made of rhea feathers.

Leg ornaments.—Broad feather bands, attached under the knees, were among the most conspicuous *Mbayá* ornaments. Men of the southern Chaco tie around their ankles a couple of rhea feathers twisted around a caraguatá string. This ornament is regarded as a powerful protection against serpents, which, fascinated by the feathers, strike at them rather than at the wearer's foot.

Rings.—It has become fashionable among the acculturated Indians to wear rings made of segments of the tail skin of lizards or iguanas.

Hair styles.—The custom, common to both sexes in many southern *Guaicuruan* groups (*Payaguá*, *Mocoví*, *Abipón*), of removing their hair so as to leave a bald furrow running back from the forehead (pl. 56) was responsible for the name *Frentones* (Those with a Big Forehead) by which the Spaniards first designated them. A symbolic value was attached to this hairless patch, and even newborn *Abipón* babies had their forehead shaved by a shaman.[36]

Among the northern *Guaicurú*, hair style indicated an individual's social status. Uninitiated boys wore two concentric crowns of hair and a central tuft; warriors, a crescentic crest extending from ear to ear, or a crown of hair around their shaved head. After puberty, *Mbayá* women shaved their heads, leaving a crescentic band of evenly cropped hair on top, which was smeared with urucú. *Guaná* women, imitating the *Mbayá*, cropped the hair on the forehead from ear to ear, but wore it long and gathered into a queue at the nape of the neck. *Guaná* men shaved half of the head, or sometimes left only a tuft of hair.

A monastic tonsure was typical of the pagan *Abipón* men, but once in the missions, they let their hair grow and twisted it into a queue. A group of *Mataco* was called *Coronado* because of their tonsure, a fashion which they may have borrowed from the *Chiriguano*.

Among the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River Indians, men trim their hair across the forehead, leaving a lock over the ears, but allow it to fall down behind, where they tie it with a tasseled string or wrap it with a fillet into a rigid queue (*Chamacoco*). They also gather the hair on the forehead into a tuft which emerges from under the frontlet. All women cut their hair over the neck and wear bangs.

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[36] The *Payaguá* shaved with a shell a band of hair "de entrada a entrada que en los grandes es ancha como de 4 dedos" (Aguirre, 1911, p. 362), and in Rengger's time wore three braids, often tied over the head in a big topknot.

In many tribes (*Choroti*, *Ashluslay*, *Mataco*, *Toba*, *Mocoví*, *Abipón*) the hair was groomed with a brush of peccary bristles or ant-eater hair or simply of roots and twigs. Nowadays combs, either carved like those of the *Chiriguano* out of a single piece of wood (*Mataco*, *Choroti*) or composed of bamboo splinters held together with threads (*Mataco*, *Choroti*, *Ashluslay*, *Pilagá*), are more widely used than is the hair brush, which may be regarded as a survival (fig. 32, *e*). Like Colonial Spanish ladies, 19th-century *Mbayá* women stuck in their hair large, beautifully wrought combs of horn with conventionalized horses cut along the upper edge.

Depilation.—Throughout the Chaco, both sexes feel distaste for facial hair. The *Abipón*, like many other Indians, believed "that the sight of the eye is deadened and shaded by the adjacent hair," and often attributed their failure to find honey to the growth of their eyebrows or eyelashes. The task of removing the body hair fills the Indians' leisure hours. The *Abipón* rubbed their face with hot ashes, after which an old woman depilated them with a pair of flexible horn tweezers. Formerly, most Chaco Indians plucked their body hair by means of two bamboo pieces or two shells. Today all of them use small tweezers made of old tin cans.

Tooth deformation.—In the district of Miranda, the *Tereno* and *Guaná*, who have been subjected to Negro influences, file their incisor teeth to give them a sawlike appearance.

Tattooing.—Tattooing is common to all Chaco tribes except the *Chamacoco*. As a rule, women are more profusely tattooed than men (*Pilagá*, *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Payaguá*, *Ashluslay*, *Vilela*), and noble-women among the ancient *Abipón* could easily be recognized by the number and variety of the patterns tattooed on their faces, breasts, and arms. An *Abipón* woman with only three or four black lines on her face was either a captive or of low birth. On the other hand, noble *Mbayá* women had squares and triangles tattooed on their arms from the shoulders to the wrists, but only exceptionally wore facial tattoo, for this indicated low rank. Plebeian women generally had a series of perpendicular lines tattooed on the forehead (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:285).

Among other Chaco tribes, a child, especially a girl, was first tattooed when 6 or 7—among the *Mbayá* between 14 and 17—but new motifs were added in the course of years. The complex patterns on *Pilagá*, *Mocoví*, *Abipón*, and *Payaguá* women were completed long after puberty when they were about to marry (fig. 31). The artist, generally an old woman, first traced the outlines of the design with charcoal and then punctured the skin with a small bundle of cactus thorns dipped

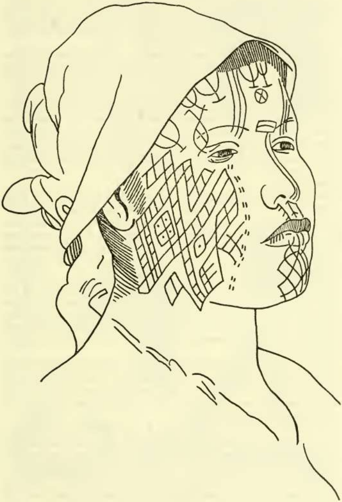


FIGURE 31.—*Pilagá* tattooing. (Design by John Arnott.)

in a mixture of soot and saliva (pls. 55, 68). The *Mbayá* used a fish bone and genipa juice or the ashes of the palm cabuigo. If an *Abipón* girl betrayed her pain by a gesture or a groan, she was taunted for her cowardice. After the operation, she had to remain shut in her father's hut for several days and, like *Mocoví* girls in similar circumstances, was permitted to eat neither meat nor fish.

Red and black motifs generally alternate. Though each tribe has its particular style, an individual has relative liberty in the choice and disposition of the traditional patterns. The simple *Mataco* designs, such as circles and parallel lines, contrast sharply with the intricate geometric figures which cover the whole face of a *Pilagá* woman. (See fig. 31.) The *Guaicuruan* tribes have given to the art a far greater importance than any other group in that area and even in the whole of South America. A fully tattooed *Abipón* or *Pilagá* woman of the older generation had her whole face covered with geometric designs combined with extraordinary skill and a fine sense of proportion.

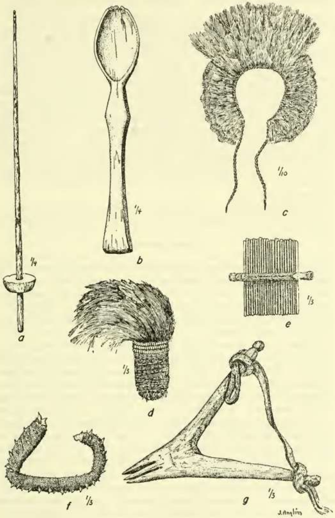
Body painting.—Painting has some ritual implications in most Chaco tribes (pl. 54). Warriors and hockey players are always decorated from head to toes with stripes and patches of black and red. Women who are menstruating or who have had sexual intercourse smear their cheeks with urucú. But the Indians also paint themselves for more trivial occasions, such as an ordinary dance or in daily life, when they seek to improve their appearance.

Urucú (*Bixa orellana*), the favorite pigment, grows only in the northern parts of the Chaco and is bartered to the southern tribes as natural seeds or in the form of cakes. These are prepared by first diluting the pigment with water and then boiling the liquid until only the thick dregs remain, to which honey is added (*Mbayá*, *Chamacoco*).

Black is made in the south with powdered charcoal and in the north (*Guaná*, *Mbayá*, *Chamacoco*) with genipa juice. As the latter is colorless when fresh, the *Caduveo* mix it with soot so as to follow the patterns as they trace them on the skin. Chaco Indians also use soot or mineral colors (hematite).

The *Chorotí*, *Ashluslay*, *Mataco*, and probably other tribes stamp simple decorations on the skin with flat pieces of carved wood or with bamboo splinters notched along the edges. The *Mbayá-Caduveo* outlined their involved designs with a bamboo stencil and filled the intervening spaces by means of a pad of cotton dipped in the dye. Star and sun motives in white were scattered on the black and red background by blowing palm flour through stencils cut in a piece of leather.

The intricate combination of motifs which characterized *Mbayá* body painting was perhaps the highest expression of that art in South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J. Anglim

Figure 32.—Chaco manufactures. *a*, *Mataco* spindle shaft with whorl; *b*, *Mataco* wooden spoon; *c*, *Chamacoco* feather headdress; *d*, *Ashluslay* feather tuft; *e*, *Pilagá* stick comb; *f*, *Pilagá* bracelet used by women in boxing; *g*, *Toba* spur. (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History.)

America (pl. 68, *top*, *center*). Though related to the design style on their pottery, the body patterns were treated more freely. The decorative elements—triangles, steps, volutes, undulated lines, triangles, frets—were grouped capriciously. A peculiarity of the *Mbayá* style was the asymmetry of the motifs painted on opposite sides of the face. The motifs stood out in black against a red background. The white stars mentioned above were restricted to men. Women formerly painted only their faces and arms whereas men covered their bodies with designs or smeared them with wide red or black stripes that were either straight or undulated. *Guaná* slaves were not permitted to use urucú or white flour, and could only decorate themselves with charcoal powder; on certain occasions, however, their masters allowed them to display sophisticated patterns. It was unbecoming for old women to paint themselves, but they took care that others did not neglect their appearance. The *Chamacoco* still try to imitate the complicated patterns of the *Caduveo*.

The body paintings of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River tribes consist mainly of dots, patches, and stripes around the mouth or the nose.

TRANSPORTATION

Among the foot Indians, transportation of household goods is the task of women, who carry heavy loads in huge netted bags (pl. 60, *a*) suspended by a tumpline (pl. 51). The *Toba* and *Pilagá* carry their household furniture wrapped in their large rush mats. Modern Indians of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River region all have adopted the donkey as a pack animal.

Abipón women placed all their possessions, children, and pets in large peccary-skin bags suspended from the backs of the horses which they rode. Mats and tent poles were also placed on top of these bags.

Boats.—As Chaco rivers are not easily navigable, only the tribes living on or near the Paraguay River use canoes (*Lengua*, *Sanapaná*, *Mbayá-Caduveo*). Until the beginning of the last century, the *Payaguá*, who were among the most famous river pirates of the continent, made the shores and islands of this river their home and spent most of their life on the water. Their dugout canoes were 10 to 20 feet (3 to 6 m.) long, 1½ to 3 feet (0.45 to 0.9 m.) wide, and had a sharp bow and stern. Some large war canoes accommodated up to 40 men (Dobrizhoffer, 1784, 1: 132). A crew of 6 or 8 standing at the stern could attain a speed of 7 knots. The paddles were 9 feet (2.7 m.) long and very pointed. In the 18th century, some *Mbayá* groups allied to the *Payaguá* gave up the horse to become river nomads.

The *Mepene*—perhaps an *Abipón* subtribe—seen by Schmidel in the 16th century (1903, pp. 167–168) were also canoe Indians. In one battle the Spaniards destroyed 250 of their boats, some of which could carry 20 people.

The conquistadors (Hernández, 1852, 1: 577), praised highly the boatmanship of the *Guachí* (*Guaxarapo*), whose small craft, built to accommodate no more than two or three men, could outdistance any Spanish sailing vessel.

Some inland tribes, such as the *Pilagá* and *Toba*, occasionally take short trips across flooded areas in their large beer troughs.

When the *Mocoví*, *Abipón*, and *Mbayá* had to cross a river they made bullboats (pelotas) of square deer or cow hides, with up-curved edges, in which old people, infants, and their belongings could be ferried over. A swimmer towed the bullboat with a leather thong, which he held in his mouth; when the current was strong, he would grasp the tail of his horse with one hand and drag his boat with the other. These Indians also built rush-mat rafts.[37]

MANUFACTURES

Basketry.—Only the *Arawakan* tribes and the *Mbayá*, who were influenced by them, had developed basketry. The latter made a few twilled baskets and large-brimmed hats to sell to their Mestizo neighbors. Among the Pilcomayo River tribes *Toba* boys plait crude frontlets of palm leaves. Coiled baskets have been collected among the *Mataco*, who, however, may have acquired them from their Mestizo neighbors.

Mat Making.—To make roof and wall mats for their huts, the *Mbayá* fastened together long, dried bulrushes with six or eight twined strings, the ends of which were braided together along the edges of the mat to reinforce them. (See Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1: 269.) The *Pilagá* and *Toba* make similar mats. The bulrushes, which have been pared to an equal length, are laid across two horizontal strings stretched between low posts and then are twined at the edges with cords. Aguirre (1911, p. 352) observes that *Payaguá* mats were not woven but "sewed."

Netting and needle-looping.—Carrying nets and bags of all sizes are both indispensable to and typical of the half-nomadic collectors of the Chaco (pl. 57, *b*; pl. 60, *a*, *d*, *e*). As these objects deteriorate rapidly, women are constantly occupied with making thread, netting, or needle-looping. The development of techniques of string work was favored by the abundance of the Bromelia which provide excelllent raw material. The caraguatá (*Bromelia* sp.) are uprooted with a forked stick and the leaves sawed off with a toothed piece of wood. The fibers are separated from the fleshy substance by either of two methods. In the first, the fibrous strips are detached with the fingernail, then soaked in water for a day or two (some kinds must then be pounded), and finally, held against the foot and scratched with a shell or a wooden knife. In the second method, fresh caraguatá leaves are pulled back and forth through a loop attached to a vertical stick, until the fibers are freed.

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[37] Oviedo y Valdés (1851–1855, 1: 193), who never was in the Río de la Plata region, mentions what seems to be the double paddle among the *Agaz* (*Payaguá*). Nordenskiöld has made much of this statement although it obviously must be erroneous since no author who describes the *Payaguá* makes any reference to this type of paddle.

To make a strand, a woman takes a few fibers from a dry bundle and with the flat of her hand rolls them on her thigh, which is smeared with ashes. She always makes two strands simultaneously and twists them together into a string. Several such strings may later be rolled together into a stronger cord.

Some bags are, like fishing nets, made with reef knots or, more exceptionally, with sheet knots. For the great majority of bags and string work, the fabric consists of interlaced loops. The various stitches are illustrated in figure 33. The first row of loops passes around a horizontal string stretched between two vertical sticks. The woman who sits in front of this rudimentary loom builds up the following rows of loops by hand, or, when the stitch is elaborate, with an eyed needle (pls. 61, *bottom;* 63). The simplest fabrics have one or two open half hitches in the same loop; the most complicated have the appearance of close crochet. Bags of wool more commonly than those of string are made in the technique of interlaced loops, with the only difference that the fabric is tighter.

In netting, mesh sticks are used only for fish nets; carrying nets are built up around a loop attached to a stick and the size of the meshes is estimated by eye.

The Pilcomayo River tribes often knit small woolen bags with two or even four needles. Where they cannot get metal needles, they use long cactus thorns. The knitting stitches are distinctly European and not Peruvian.

Most of the bags and carrying nets of the Chaco Indians are enlivened with geometrical patterns produced by alternating yarns of different colors. The best bags and pouches of the *Pilagá* and *Ashluslay* are threaded with beads.

Weaving.—Early descriptions of the Chaco tribes contain references to women's clothes and to blankets made of caraguatá fibers.[38] Garments of this material no longer are made in most of the Chaco, but the *Chamacoco* and *Moro* are said to use skirts and cloaks of fibers. From the little available evidence, it seems that these gar-

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[38] The *Guaicurú* "Traen muchas mantas de lino que hacen de unos cardos, las cuales hacen muy pintadas" (Hernández, 1852, p. 566).

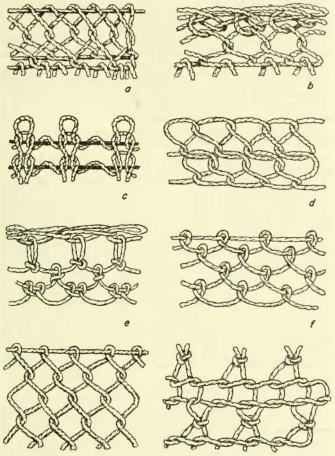

Figure 33.—Chaco netting and lacing techniques. *a*, *Mataco* lacing; *b*, *Mataco* lacing; *c*, *Mataco* lacing (*a–c* redrawn from Max Schmidt, 1937 a); *d*, *Mataco* lacing; *e*, *Ashluslay* netting; *f*, *Mataco* lacing; *g*, *Ashluslay* lacing; *h*, *Ashluslay* combination lacing and netting (*d–h*, redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1919, fig. 60.)

ments are twined in a technique identical to that of the mosquito flaps used by the same Indians.

The art of weaving was probably introduced into the Chaco from the Tropical Forest area by Indians who cultivated cotton and had the vertical loom. The *Arawakan Guaná*, who were famed as skillful weavers and who still provide their Neo-Brazilian neighbors with textiles, appear to have been the most likely agents for the pre-Columbian diffusion of weaving. Later, Peruvian influences were felt throughout the Chaco, as evidenced by the distribution of various techniques which have survived up to the present and are identical with those employed in the Coastal cultures of ancient Perú (e. g., kelim technique, compound cloth, tie dyeing).

Before European contact, cotton was the only material used by the Chaco Indians for weaving, though they may have received small amounts of wool from the Andean Indians. In the past the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River tribes spun a variety of cotton (*Gossypium peruvianum*), which today still grows wild, and was reputedly better than the cotton raised nowadays. Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 1:184) states that the *Mbayá* had a native cotton, somewhat different from the European variety. In the north and wherever White influence has come late, the Indians continue to spin cotton. The *Kaskihá* card cotton with small bows, a device of limited distribution in South America. The Pilcomayo River and Bermejo River tribes who have large flocks of sheep have almost entirely given up the cultivation of cotton, but some *Mataco* still use it for their fabrics. The Indians shear sheep with ordinary knives and leave the wool on platforms or bushes to be cleansed by rain and bleached by the sun. The women tease it with their fingers before spinning. The spindles have a shank with a knob at the proximal end to which the thread is attached by a half hitch. The whorl is a pottery or wooden disk, or a small calabash or fruit (fig. 32, *a*). The spindle is set in motion and dropped to turn by itself either in the air (pl. 62) or in a small plate.[39] The yarn is spun right and twisted left.

The loom is made of two vertical forked branches with one cross pole resting on the fork above and another tied near the ground. The warp threads are passed around these two bars, but at each turn are looped back over a cord which is strung horizontally between the two bars. When the fabric is finished, the cord is pulled out and the piece of cloth opens without cutting.

The designs are obtained by alternating the colors of the warp threads. The weaver's only tools are a wooden sword—which among the *Mbayá-Caduveo* is carved into the form of a horse—and a bone or wooden dagger. When the fabric is wide, the weft threads have to be battened down with a sword in small sections clear to the end. The shuttle is a piece of bamboo; but often the ball of thread is used instead. With this simple loom the Indians produce blankets, ponchos, and belts decorated with geometric colored patterns (fig. 38). Belts and ponchos of the *Pilagá* and *Ashluslay* are compound cloth with a pattern in warp float over three wefts under one.

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[39] Azara's (1809, 2:125) description of the *Payaguá* spinning suggests that the women rolled their long spindles on their thighs.

This loom is also used for finger-weaving. By this method the *Mataco* and *Toba* make belts and bags which (pls. 60, *c*; 61, *top*) have more elaborate designs than most ordinary fabrics.

Tapestry in the kelim technique, so typical of ancient Peruvian textiles, is used in a few instances to make small bands worn as necklaces.

The Pilcomayo River Indians plait narrow fillets by crossing eight yarns.

Dyes.—Black and white are generally natural-color wools; red is obtained from the cochineal that develops on cacti[40] (*Mbayá*, *Mocoví*, *Lengua*) or from a crocuslike flower; brown from the bark of the tusca tree (*Acacia moniliformis*) or from guayacán (*Caesalpinia melanocarpa*) seeds;[41] yellow from the flowers of *Euglypha rojasiana.*[42] Tie-dyeing—a method of Andean origin—is also known to the Pilcomayo River Indians but is rarely used.

Pottery.—All Chaco Indians, even those who are essentially nomadic, have pottery. There is great homogeneity in the shape and quality of the ceramics throughout the area, though a more refined pottery style is to be found in the northern marginal area among the *Arawakan*-speaking tribes and their close neighbors, the *Mbayá*. The *Mbayá-Caduveo* originally had simple and crude vessels, like those of the modern *Toba*, but nowadays make not only the best ceramics in the Chaco, but some of the finest in South America. The change in style and technique was brought about by the *Guaná* women whom these Indians kept as wives or serfs. As a result of their close contact with other *Mbayá* bands, the *Kaskihá* make vessels which, in spite of a certain crudeness, resemble those of the *Caduveo* and other *Arawak-Mbayá* groups. The influence of the *Chiriguano* and of Andean Indians is clearly noticeable in the shape of the ware of the *Mataco* and of some other Pilcomayo River tribes.

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[40] They gathered the larvae in a vessel and pounded them.

[41] The seeds are crushed and boiled. The threads are immersed in the decoction.

[42] On the dyes of the *Mbayá*, Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 1:169) gives the following information: "Dan un tinte negro muy bueno con una tierra azulada que llaman limcutege, a la cual mezclan las astillas de un palo que se llama cumatago, y que se cría por muchas partes, especialmente hacia las orillas del río Paraguay, en un lugar que en su idioma dicen, por unos arboles, odeadigo. Tambien tienen amarillo con el cocimiento de las astillas de los palos dichos, especialmente del que por excelencia nombran logoguigago, el que hace amarillo. Acanelado tiñen con la corteza de otro arbol: y encarnado con astillas de un árbol, y tambien con algunas raices. No tienen más maniobra que en la infusión de las astillas o raíces poner lo que han de teñir. Entre otras cosas suelen hacer esta. Despues de haber dado cocimiento en la dicha infusión a la lana o hilo de algodón, le sacan y sobre una estera ponen una capa de ceniza, hecha de un arbol muy fuerte, y con cuya corteza tiñen tambien colorado. Sobre esta ceniza extienden la madeja recien sacada del cocimiento: y despues la cubren bien con bastante ceniza de la misma tapándolo todo con la estera. La madeja, al sacarla de la infusión, apenas de señas del color; más, dejada una noche del modo dicho entre la ceniza, se pone de un encarnado bellisimo."

Pottery technique.—The technique of potters is identical all over the Chaco. The clay is gathered in marshy spots, pounded in a mortar, sifted through a string bag, and tempered with pulverized potsherds. The *Mataco* mix clay and temper in equal proportions. They sprinkle water on the tempered clay and knead it, removing all pebbles and hard particles. The potter first shapes a lump of prepared clay into a disk with a narrow rim, which she places on a plank, a leaf, a skin, a net bag, or even on the sole of her foot (*Mbayá*). On this foundation she builds up the vessel by adding clay coils. These coils, which have the thickness of a finger, are rolled between the palms of the hands (pl. 64). When the coil is applied, the potter flattens it between her thumb and the other fingers. After four or five coils have been superimposed, the new surface is scraped vertically with the back of a shell (pl. 64). She next scrapes the interior of the vessel far more carefully than the outer side, constantly dipping her fingers or her instrument in water. The pot is smoothed with the back of the fingers passed lightly over the wet surface. When the pot is somewhat dry the outside is again scraped and smoothed with the back of the shell or with the fingers and nails. Some tribes use a wooden or maize cob scraper instead of shells.

The finished pot is first dried in the shade and then fired for no more than half an hour in the open under a conical pile of bark or dry wood.

Pottery decoration.—In the areas of the Pilcomayo, Bermejo, and lower Paraguay Rivers ceramic decoration is very rudimentary. The potter removes the vessel from the fire and while it is still hot traces a few simple geometric motifs on its surface with a piece of palo santo (*Guaiacum officinale*), which exudes a thick rosin, or with a lump of rosin. The designs consist of crude dots, circles, or lines. The mouth of a water jug sometimes bears a series of small impressions made with the thumbnail. A few cooking pots are ornamented with rows of small clay pellets put on the surface when the clay is wet (*Mataco*, *Choroti*). The *Mataco*, immediate neighbors of the *Chiriguano*, more often decorate their pottery with fingernail impressions or with crude pastillé ornaments than do the other tribes of their area.

The *Mbayá-Caduveo*, *Guaná*, *Kaskihá*, and the ancient inhabitants of the Paraná Delta are the only South American Indians who decorated their pottery by pressing cords into the wet clay. They painted the spaces between the motifs with red and black. Red was obtained by applying an iron oxide (hematite) to the clay before firing and, as among the other Chaco tribes, black by smearing the rosin of palo santo on the hot surfaces. The cord marks were filled with white earth when the vessel was cold. Vessels employed as containers for precious objects were decorated with pieces of cloth and shell disks sewed on the walls of the vase through a set of holes made during construction of the vessel.

The *Mbayá-Caduveo* and *Guaná* ceramic decoration was quite elaborate (fig. 34). Besides Greek frets and other simple geometric patterns, it consisted of various combinations of curves, volutes, and designs that suggest conventionalized foliage. Primarily this decoration is based on ancient Andean motifs, but it also betrays European influences. *Payaguá* pottery was also painted with designs which seem to be akin to these *Mbayá* pots.

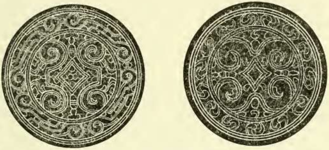

Figure 34.—*Mbayá-Caduveo* painted pottery plates. (Redrawn from Boggiani, 1895, figs. 16, 25.)

On some *Mataco* pots the flattened clay coils form an intricate decoration on the exterior.

Pottery forms.—Chaco pottery in general lacks variety of form. In most tribes ceramics fall into three categories: (1) plain cooking pots; (2) water jugs with a long neck, and usually two vertical handles (pl. 51); and (3) bowls. The artistic vessels of the *Mbayá*, *Kaskihá*, and *Guaná* are large basins with more or less vertical walls and rounded bases.

The water jugs, which are probably a local adaptation of the *Inca* aryballus, are carried on the back with a tumpline which passes through the handles and is prevented from slipping by a depression or groove around the body of the pot at the level of the handles. Jugs without grooves and handles are carried in a net.

Skin preparation.—The Chaco Indians employ skin to a far greater extent than do most South American tribes. Tanning, however, has remained unknown to them, in spite of the fact that the Chaco forests are exploited today mainly for the trees which are rich in tannic acid. A lengthy mechanical softening process is used only for skins intended for cloaks and skirts, an arduous task performed by women. The skins are first stretched on a frame or nailed with wooden pegs on the ground and cleansed of all flesh particles. Then the hair is scraped off with a pointed stick and the softening is achieved by folding the skin diagonally about every half inch. The creases are accentuated by pressing the smooth lip of a large snail shell along them (*Lengua*). The skin is then twisted and "its surfaces rubbed together after an application of wood ashes and water" (Grubb, 1913, p. 69). The ancient *Mbayá* rubbed skins with stones until they became soft. Among the *Choroti* and *Mataco*, skins are smeared with grease and softened by rubbing them across a split piece of wood.

To sew pieces of skin together to form cloaks, *Abipón* women passed caraguatá threads through holes made with a thorn along the edges.

For bags and pouches in which belongings are carried or stored, unworked skins of peccaries or deer, with the hair on, are commonly used. But the best bags have the hair scraped off, the edges sewn, and sometimes have their surfaces embellished with woolen embroideries, a type of ornamentation which in South America is restricted to the Chaco.

To prepare a certain kind of large bag, the Indians make a single incision around the neck of a rhea and its lower limbs, then carefully skin it. The skin is then flayed and the two lower openings tied up (pl. 58, *a*). They make tobacco pouches in the same manner of the neck skin of rheas or other birds, with embroidered edges and tassels (pl. 60, *f*). Small pouches also are made with the entire skin of lizards or iguanas.

Metallurgy.—Metallurgy was practiced in the Chaco only by the *Mbayá*. They soon learned from the Spaniards how to make ornaments adapted to their taste of silver and brass bartered for horses. They never acquired the processes of smelting or welding, but became expert in hammering and folding. They put the metal in the fire, took it out with wooden tongs, and then beat it into plates on a stone anvil with another stone. The plates were polished on a stone, burnished with a powder of sand and ashes, cut into squares or crescents with a knife or scissors, and sewed to belts or other garments. They were also folded into tubes for pendants or beads. Likewise, the *Mocoví* turned the silver or copper which they obtained from the Spaniards into jingles and pendants.

The *Mbayá* worked pieces of iron into hooks or spearheads. Modern *Mbayá-Caduveo* have smithies with bellows and iron anvils.

Trade metal was known in the Chaco long before the Discovery. Irala, crossing the Chaco in 1548, found that the *Mbayá* had silver frontlets and silver plates 3½ inches (8.75 cm.) long and ½ inch (1.25 cm.) wide, which these Indians wore on their foreheads (Schmidel, 1903, p. 249). Similar objects and even the copper tools which were so common among the *Guaraní* must have passed from Perú across the Chaco before reaching Paraguay.

Gourds.—The Chaco Indians cultivate gourds of all sizes and convert them into water bottles, bowls, dippers, spoons, and containers for storing miscellaneous small articles. Seeds, flour, and food are also kept in these containers. Gourds which are used as boxes are generally provided with a star-shaped lid cut from the same fruit and attached by a loop which closes it when pulled up.

Gourds are frequently decorated with crude and irregular burned ornaments. The designs incised on boxes, bottles, or beer bowls are more artistic. They are geometric—triangles, crisscrosses, stripes, etc.—or realistic. The latter kind represent "spirits," animals, and even geographical features treated symbolically. Some specimens have both engraved and pyrographed motifs. Small boxes are often dotted with beads affixed with wax.

Tools.—Most of the natives of the sandy Chaco plains had to import the stones for their axes from their neighbors. The stone blade was inserted into the bulging head of the wooden handle, a shafting which was retained after they received iron blades. *Chamacoco* stone axes are unique in South America: an amygdaloid or triangular blade with a somewhat bulging or T-shaped butt is lashed with string to the small end of a flat wooden club that is 5 feet (1.5 m.) long. On some the binding is smeared with wax and feather tassels are attached. The use of these axes is somewhat problematical, as the hafting is unsuited for cutting hard wood (fig. 37, *b*). The handle is obviously a digging stick or a club.

Before the Jesuits supplied them with steel axes, the *Mocoví* split tree trunks with flint wedges in order to obtain sticks suitable for making spears or bows. Giglioli (1889, p. 276) reproduces a stone chisel attributed to the *Chamacoco*. The stone, similar to a small ax, is encased between two pieces of a white wood, bound together with a caraguatá cord.

Until recently, piranha (*Serrasalmo* sp.) teeth were used everywhere as knives and carving tools. Rodent teeth, bamboo splinters, and shells served the same purpose. The *Mbayá* and *Mocoví* scraped and polished wood with the sharp edge of broken shells.

Woodworking.—See Farming and Food Preparation (pp. 261–263), and figures 35, 37, 42.

Weapons: *Bows.*—Chaco bows are carved of the hard resilient wood of palo mataco (*Achatocarpus praecox*), lotek (*Prosopis abbreviata*), quebracho (*Schinopsis lorentzii*), or urundel (*Astronium juglandifolium*). The part of the tree where the lighter outer wood meets the core is generally selected because of its greater strength and flexibility. The bow cross section varies somewhat but, as a rule, the belly is flat and the outer side somewhat round or convex. A rectangular cross section is common among the southern and central tribes; among the northern tribes it is more oval, and among the

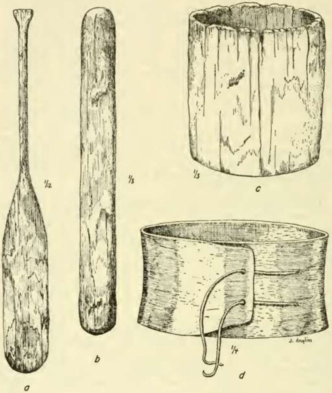

Figure 35.—*Pilagá* and *Chorotí* utensils and dress. *a*, *Chorotí* spade (redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1919, fig. 1); *b*, *Chorotí* pestle (redrawn from Rosen, 1924, fig. 122); *c*, *Pilagá* wooden mortar (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History); *d*, *Chorotí* hide belt (redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1919, fig. 31).

Chamacoco almost round. Both ends of the stave are sharpened sufficiently to prevent the string from slipping, but lack a clear-cut shoulder. Except for slightly curved extremities, the stave is nearly straight. *Chamacoco* bows are longest and measure about 6 feet (1.8 m.).

In the Bermejo and Pilcomayo River regions (*Choroti*, *Mataco*, *Toba*, *Lengua*, *Ashluslay*), bow strings of caraguatá fiber or of twined skin or tendons occur in the same tribe. The ancient *Abipón* made their bow strings of fox entrails or of "very strong threads supplied by a species of palm" (Dobrizhoffer, 1784, 2:398). The bow string is always long enough to be partly wrapped around the bow (fig. 37, *e*, *f*). Cracked bows (*Choroti*, *Mataco*) are reinforced with short sheaths or casings of raw leather.

In general, Chaco bows do not compare in finish to those of the Tropical Forest area.

Arrows.—Arrow points are of the same types as those of the Tropical Forest area: (1) Points for fishing and hunting arrows consist of a long sharpened wooden rod (palo mataco, quebracho, palo santo), occasionally with small barbs carved along one or both edges. Some *Abipón* arrows had a quadruple row of barbs. Formerly, a bone splinter sharpened at both ends, or the leg bone or claw of the *Canis azarae* was fastened to the wooden rod and caused a dangerous infection when it broke off in the wound (*Abipón*, *Mocoví*). (See Dobrizhoffer, 1784, 2:400, and Kobler, 1870, p. 258.) (2) War and large game arrows were tipped with sharp lanceolate bamboo splinters, which today have been entirely replaced by iron blades. Like their bamboo prototypes, these iron heads are fitted into a socketed foreshaft. (3) Bird arrows were tipped with a blunt conical wooden head. The *Abipón* used a wax head. For shooting birds, the *Mbayá* fixed a piece of gourd to the tip of on ordinary arrow. (4) Harpoon arrows, i. e., arrows with removable heads, were used by the *Payaguá* for shooting capybara (Azara, 1904, p. 365).

The *Abipón* and many other Chaco tribes set fire to enemy huts by shooting arrows tipped with burning cotton or tow.

In historic times, arrow shafts have been made of a species of reed that was imported from Europe (caña de Castilla, *Arundo donax*) and now grows wild along the rivers, but is also cultivated by the Indians. In pre-Columbian days, and occasionally even now, the Indians used suncho stems. The *Chamacoco* have no other material for their arrow shafts. The butt of a reed shaft is notched, but never reinforced with a plug. A wrapping of caraguatá fibers at both ends prevents the reed from splitting. The pared and halved quill is laid flush against the shaft and bound with thin threads which are cemented in place with wax. The *Abipón* used feathers from crows, the *Mocoví* from birds of prey. The *Mocoví* decorated their arrow shafts with red rings (fig. 36, *a–g*).

When shooting, the Indians hold the arrow between the thumb and the index finger, and pull the string with the middle and fourth fingers (*Payaguá*, *Lengua*, *Pilagá*, *Ashluslay*, *Macá*). The wrist is protected by a leather or wooden guard (*Abipón*, *Mocoví*), by a wrapping of caraguatá strings (*Toba*, *Mataco*, *Guarañoca*), or by braids of human hair (*Mbayá*).

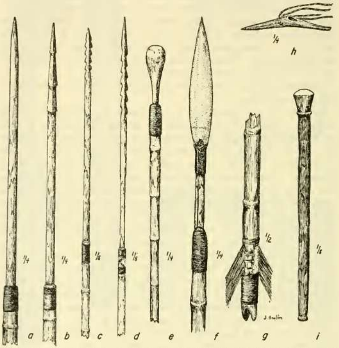

FIGURE 36.—Chaco weapons. *a–e*, Wooden arrow points; *f*, iron arrow point; *g*, arrow butt with feathering; *h*, cow-horn harpoon head; *i*, wooden war club (*h*, *Mataco*; all others *Pilagá*.) (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History.)

Quivers.—Quivers, known only to the *Abipón* and *Mocoví*, were made of "rushes, and adorned with woolen threads of various colors" (Dobrizhoffer, 1784, 2:398; Baucke, 1935, pl. 16). As a rule, the Chaco Indians carry their arrows in their hands or pass them through their belts.

Spears.—Spears are used both as thrusting and as throwing weapons by the Chaco Indians to hunt peccaries and jaguars or to fight their enemies at close range. Lances became the main weapon of the equestrian Indians who handled them with as much skill as did the Spanish cavalry. The lance shaft was split with wedges from a tree trunk, generally palo mataco, and then shaped by charring and scraping with a shell. It was straightened by rolling between two logs (*Mocoví*, *Abipón*).

Spears either were pointed at one or both ends or had a separate head of bone or deer horn socketed into the shaft. In the 18th century, spear points were generally of iron, which the Indians took pride in polishing with tallow. The original spear of the *Toba*, *Angaité*, and *Pilagá* had a lanceolate head carved from the same piece as the staff. A spear butt was generally pointed so that it could be stuck in the ground in front of the hut. The spears of the foot Indians measured from 5 to 6 feet (1.5 to 1.8 m.); those of the equestrian Indians from 12 to 18 feet (3.6 to 5.4 m.).

Javelins and harpoons.—The *Mocoví* and perhaps the *Payaguá* killed capybara and caimans with javelins provided with a separate wooden head barbed on one side like the *Yahgan* harpoons of Tierra del Fuego (Baucke, 1870, p. 264; 1935).

The *Mocoví* war javelin was identical to the modern *Mataco* fishing harpoon (fig. 37, *a*). It consisted of a shaft of light wood, a hardwood foreshaft, and a separable point made of a hollow piece of bone or the tip of a deer horn connected to the shaft by a long cord. "If an Indian," says Baucke (1870, p. 265), "is hit by this weapon, the head remains in the wound and, as he cannot extract it, he is sure to perish."

The *Mocoví* held their lances at the middle of the shaft with the right hand under the left one; the *Abipón* grasped their lances with both hands near the proximal end.

Clubs.—The battle club of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River tribes is a heavy cudgel of palo mataco with a bulging conical head or a wooden disk carved at the distal end. The Indians pass it through their belts or carry it suspended from the wrist by a loop (fig. 36, *i*).

The flat digging stick of the *Chamacoco*, with its sharp edges widening progressively toward the rounded distal end, may be used as a club when necessary.

The *Chamacoco*, *Tsirakua*, and probably many other Chaco tribes use throwing sticks to hunt rodents and other small animals. These sticks are short clubs with bulging heads (pl. 65, *right*).

Bolas.—The *Abipón* and *Mocoví* hunted with bolas which, like those of modern gauchos, consisted of three stones folded in rawhide

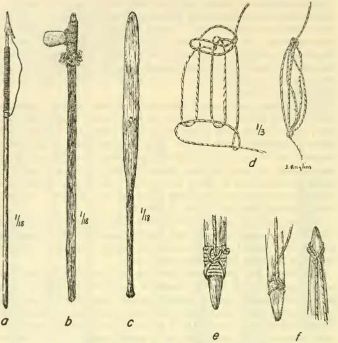

FIGURE 37.—Chaco weapons and implements. *a*, *Mocoví* war harpoon (redrawn from Baucke); *b*, *Chamacoco* hafted stone ax (redrawn from Boggiani, 1895, fig. 14); *c*, *Chamacoco* digging stick (redrawn from Boggiani, 1895, fig. 61A); *d*, *Ashluslay* sling (redrawn from Nordenskiöld, 1919, fig. 7); *e*, *f*, ends of *Chorotí* bow (redrawn from Rosen, 1924).

and connected to one another by twisted thongs. Bolas are used today by the *Ashluslay* and *Lengua* for hunting rheas. The lack of stones and the dense bush make this weapon impracticable elsewhere in the Chaco and explains its limited distribution. In most Pilcomayo River tribes children play a game with bolas made of sticks instead of stones. (See Games, p. 338.)

Slings.—The Chaco sling, made with a single cord looped and knotted so as to hold the missile (fig. 37, *d*), must be classified as a toy, because the lack of stone made a lump of hard earth the only missile. Children sometimes use it to drive birds away from ripe crops (*Mataco*, *Abipón*, *Toba*.)

Pellet bow.—The pellet bow has two strings, which are held apart by a stick. A clay pellet is placed in a sling or pouch suspended between the two strings. This weapon is used almost exclusively by young boys to shoot at birds or small animals (*Mataco*, *Pilagá*, *Toba*, *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Mbayá*.)

Knuckle dusters.—Women use tapir-hide rings or deerskin bracelets as "knuckle dusters" in fights with other women (fig. 32, *f*). *Payaguá* men fixed claws and points to their wrists when boxing with a fellow tribesman.

Armor.—As a protection against arrows, most Chaco Indians wore strong, tightly woven caraguatá shirts (fig. 29) or hide armor. The ancient *Abipón*, wrote Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2: 410), "covered the greater part of their bodies with a sort of defense made of undressed tapir hide, a tiger's skin being sewed either inside or outside." This garment had an opening in the middle for the head, and "extended on each side as far as the elbows and the middle." Arrows could not penetrate it. Jackets of jaguar skin were commonly worn both as ornaments and for protection by *Mocoví*, *Toba*, *Mbayá*, and *Pilagá* warriors, and by the *Mbayá* also, because "they imparted the jaguar fierceness to their owners." They were probably copied from the buff coats used by the Spaniards.

The *Chorotí*, *Mataco*, *Ashluslay*, and *Toba* protected their stomachs with broad rawhide belts.

Fire making.—The Chaco tribes aboriginally produced fire by the drill, but the flint and steel subsequently spread to almost all of them. The *Chorotí* and *Mataco* made both the drill and hearth of the soft light wood of a creeper (Asclepiadaceae), the branches of the *Capparis tweediana*, or tuscae (*Ephedra triandra*) wood. The hearth was short and provided with one or more shallow holes with a lateral groove. Among the *Chorotí*, *Mataco*, and *Ashluslay*, and perhaps other tribes, the drill was also fairly short and had to be fitted into an arrow shaft before use.

To make fire, the Indians place the hearth on some object, a knife or even a cloth, to avoid direct contact with the soil, and hold it with the foot. They put a pinch of tinder under the lateral groove and twirl the drill between the hands. Fire can be made in less than a minute. If the wood is wet, two men work on the same drill. Indians keep tinder in a small box made of the tip of a deer antler, a cow horn, or the tail of an armadillo. To activate a fire, fans made of the whole wing feathers of large birds are used everywhere. Logs are always arranged in the fire like the spokes of a wheel and are pushed gradually toward the center as they burn.

ECONOMIC INSTITUTIONS

Property.—Each band regards a certain tract of land as its own and resents trespass by members of other groups. The *Angaité* on the banks of the Paraguay River exacted a tribute from those who collected algarroba pods on their territory. Disputes over fishing rights are frequent among the tribes of the Pilcomayo River.

Ancient and modern travelers alike praise the generosity of the Chaco Indians toward the members of their own group, i. e., the household. Available food is equally distributed among all, and nobody is allowed to starve. Children are trained to share delicacies with playmates, and garments and ornaments are freely lent, passing from hand to hand.

The game brought home by a hunter or the food gathered in the bush is shared by all the members of an extended family who form a single household. Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 2:5) observed that *Mbayá* hunters turned their catch over to their own household and that nothing was handed to the other houses. Nevertheless, strict rules determined the apportionment of the game killed by a group of hunters. A *Mocoví* who hit the animal first was assumed to have killed it, regardless of who delivered the mortal blow. Among the *Mbayá*, on the contrary, the one who had struck the last blow was the rightful owner of the carcass. The man entitled to the game divided the meat among his companions, reserving for himself a choice morsel and the skin. The leader of a hunting party always received the heart.

Indians take for granted that clothes and tools are one's personal property, though others may borrow them freely for a short time. A chief is morally obliged to give away any ornament or piece of clothing which arouses the cupidity of one of his men. Horses, cattle, and sheep are owned by individuals who either earmark or brand them. The *Mbayá* used elaborate ownership marks in the style of their pottery designs, which they painted or incised on all their possessions. Wives often ornament their bodies with their husband's property marks. As a property mark, *Ashluslay* women weave a special pattern in the corner of their blankets.

Fields belong to those who cultivate them, but crops are shared among the household members even if they have not participated in the cultivation.

Stealing from group members rarely occurs. The *Mocoví*, like the modern *Mataco* or *Toba*, left all their possessions in their huts when going on a journey, and they assured the missionary that they never missed anything when they returned home. Nothing shocked the *Mocoví* more than the thievish proclivities of the Creoles.

When a *Mbayá* missed an object stolen by someone in the camp, he would promise a reward for its return. The thief generally gave the object back and received the gift; in fact, everyone who had helped to restore the stolen possession expected some compensation.

Among the *Chamacoco*, property is inherited by the sister-in-law of the deceased; among the *Kashiká*, by his son, wife, or sister (Baldus, 1931 a, p. 74).

Justice.—Information on judiciary institutions is lacking. Anyone who, by his conduct, imperils the security of the band or who has committed a murder may be put to death or expelled from the village, after the case has been examined by a council of the chiefs and family heads.

Trade.—Trade has always been active between the Chaco tribes and their *Andean*, *Guaraní*, and *Arawak* neighbors, and also between the various groups within the area itself. In a document of 1593 there is specific reference to commerce between the Indians of the mountains and those of the Bermejo River; the latter brought deerskins, rhea and egret feathers, and wildcat skins.

After Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca (see Hernández, 1852, p. 566) had reestablished peace between the *Mbayá* (*Guaicurú*) and the *Guaraní*, the former frequently visited Asunción to trade barbecued game and fish, skins, fat, and caraguatá textiles for maize, manioc, peanuts, bows, and arrows. The *Guachí* and *Payaguá* provided other Indians of the upper Paraguay River with canoes for which they received bows, arrows, and other goods.

In the Colonial Period, the *Paisan* of the middle Bermejo River obtained horses from the *Abipón* and *Mocoví* of Santa Fé, whom they repaid with spears. The frontier Indians who acquired iron tools from the Spaniards bartered them with the people of the interior.

Forty years ago the *Tapieté* received their long shell necklaces from the *Ashluslay*, who seem to have obtained them from the *Lengua*. *Lengua* merchants visited the *Choroti* to exchange shell disks for blankets or domesticated animals. Small loaves of urucú pigment from the northern Chaco pass from tribe to tribe as far south as the Bermejo River Basin. The *Choroti* pay as much as a large woolen blanket for a single cake of urucú.

The *Chiriguano* and *Toba* visit each other to trade maize for dried or smoked fish. The *Mataco* and *Choroti* provide the Itiyuro River *Chané* with fish in return for maize. The *Guachí* of the Miranda River brought the *Mbayá* blankets, feathers, reeds for arrow shafts, and various foods, and received knives, scissors, beads, needles, and silver plates. Notwithstanding their commercial relations, the *Guachí* never allowed the *Mbayá* to enter their villages (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1: 68).

Tapieté and *Mataco* bands sometimes settle in *Chiriguano* villages to work several months for their hosts, who pay them with maize.

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORGANIZATION

The adoption of the horse by the tribes living along the right bank of the Paraguay and Paraná Rivers broke the uniformity of culture which seems to have prevailed throughout the Chaco at the time of the Conquest.

The Chaco tribes which became equestrian rapidly developed along new lines and within a century formed a strongly stratified society differing sharply from that of the western and northwestern tribes, who carried on the democratic system formerly characteristic of all Chaco groups.

The *Arawakan* tribes of the northeastern Chaco, though strongly influenced by their equestrian suzerains, seem to have preserved some features of their earlier social organization. The different social structures of these various tribes obliges us to deal separately with the social and political organization of the foot Indians (*Mataco*, *Choroti*, *Ashluslay*, *Macá*, *Lengua*, *Toba*, *Lule-Vilela*), of the equestrian tribes and canoe tribes (*Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Mbayá*, *Payaguá*), and of the *Arawakan* farmers of the north (*Guaná*, *Tereno*, *Layana*, *Kinikinao*).

The foot Indians.—The basic social unit of these tribes is the composite band which consists of a few extended families and numbers from 50 to 200 individuals. These bands are localized, own their hunting and fishing territories, have a distinctive name, and are under the authority of a chief. The various families aggregated in a band are often related by marriage or by blood ties. Identity of name is not a bar to marriage within the same band. Endogamous unions in a *Mataco* band tend to exceed in number the exogamous ones. On the other hand, *Pilagá* are reluctant to marry in their own band (Henry, J., and Henry, Z., 1944).

Mataco, *Toba*, and *Chamacoco* bands are named after animals(e. g., jaguars, peccaries, rabbits, sheep, donkeys, horses, dogs, armadillos, fishes, ants, and locusts), plants (e. g., quebracho, palo santo, creepers), manufactured articles (e. g., red clothes), natural objects (e. g., stones), parts of the body or physical characteristics (e. g., joints of the body, forehead, hairy people, those-who-move-their-buttocks), temperament or disposition (e. g., evildoers, people-who-throw-things-at-themselves), and other things. These Indians do not hold the eponym to be sacred. The existing food taboos have nothing to do with band affiliation; hence there is no evidence of totemism. Members of an extended family or sometimes of a whole band live in a single hut.

Residence after marriage is commonly matrilocal, though the couple later may move to the man's band. Desccent is established through the father, but if the father's band is small or obscure, the children tend to identify themselves with the maternal group (*Mataco*).

Theoretically the household consists of related persons but actually many of its members have no blood ties (*Pilagá*).

During the algarroba season, when large quantities of beer are brewed every day or when an important decision concerning the tribe is made, several bands will meet in the territory of some influential chief, where all together they will build a large camp. Each band, however, maintains its individuality. Bands which constitute subtribes now and then coalesce into a single big camp.

Political organization.—Among the tribes of the Bermejo and Pilcomayo River area a chief is an influential man, generally the head of an extended family, who rises to a dominant position as the result of his wisdom, skill, and courage. Many chiefs owe their authority to their reputation as shamans. A chief is expected to provide for the welfare of his people, to represent his group in dealings with other tribes or with Whites, and to see that no harm befalls his community. A chief is morally obliged to share all his acquisitions with the members of his band. As he cannot refuse to give up any object coveted by a follower, he is often a shabby-looking person.

No chief would dare to impose a decision at variance with the desires of his followers. He generally finds out the wishes of the majority by listening to conversations and then carries the matter through as if it were his own idea. A chief normally takes the initiative in hunting and fishing expeditions, and he suggests that the camp be moved when game or food plants in the vicinity are becoming scarce. He has also some vague judiciary powers; for instance, he may force a thief to restore stolen goods. When the council of mature men meets, one of the chief's functions is to address the crowd. Formerly, he delivered a speech to his band every morning and evening, even though no one seemed to pay the slightest attention to him. Likewise, before a drinking party he always exhorts the men to enjoy themselves in peace and harmony. If a chief is stingy or unable to protect his band from disaster, the families who were his followers rapidly desert him to join the band of a more satisfactory leader.

Over the band chiefs there is often a greater chief who is recognized as such by all the bands of a certain district. His village is generally a gathering place for several bands. The paramount chief of a subtribe enjoys great prestige, but his power depends entirely on his personality. White people have somewhat increased his authority by dealing with him as the tribal representative and by giving him military titles. Unfortunately, White people sometimes promote an unscrupulous interpreter to the rank of chief, thus destroying the cohesion of the group and hastening its disintegration.

Chiefly status is rarely hereditary. After the death of a chief, any man who, in the group's opinion, has the required qualities for the position may take his place.

Before the breakdown of *Toba* culture, the position of the chief differed somewhat from that in neighboring groups. Although in peacetime *Toba* chiefs had little to do and, theoretically, could not impose their will on ordinary warriors without being challenged by them in the tumult of a drinking bout, their deeds on the battlefield gave them more authority than had their colleagues in other tribes. The *Toba* were essentially warlike and their chiefs, who led their constant forays against their neighbors, had to display great courage and skill. Under favorable circumstances, these features, indeed, might have led to the formation of a stratified social structure similar to that of the other equestrian tribes.

Chieftainship was not entirely hereditary among the *Toba*, but tended strongly to be so, as a chief was succeeded by his son or another close relative unless he was unworthy of the office.

Descendants of a famous chief boasted of their connection and enjoyed a certain esteem which may be regarded as a step toward the formation of a nobility. The band chiefs were, at least in principle, subordinate to a subtribe or district chief, who often was a man of great influence and of forceful personality.

The status of the *Abipón* chief was very much like that of a *Toba* leader. Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:113) defines his functions in the following terms:

> He provides for the security of his people, he increases the store of weapons, sends watchers and scouts to procure supplies from neighbors and to gain alliances. He rides in front of his troups.

Forty years ago, three out of the five *Chamacoco* chiefs were hereditary rulers and the other two had acquired their rank through merit. The supreme chief at that time was a regent for a minor heir. A paramount chief lived successively with each band. Whenever an important decision was to be made, the chiefs discussed it with the assembly of old people. There was little difference between chiefs and commoners.

The equestrian tribes.—Little information is available on the social structure of the *Mocoví*. Father Canelas (Fúrlong C., 1938 c, p. 86) speaks in general terms of "noblemen" and "plebeians" who kept apart. Members of the first class intermarried to maintain purity of blood, but commoners could take wives from other bands or from among captives. Nobility was also bestowed on famous warriors. Special grammatical forms were used to address a nobleman.

In contrast to the democratic organization of the Pilcomayo River tribes, *Mbayá* society was rigorously stratified. The adoption of the horse gave this tribe a decided advantage over its neighbors, which contributed to the formation of a system of classes and even of castes. Unable to absorb its countless prisoners, as most Chaco Indians do, each group maintained its individuality and hegemony by stressing blood purity and the privileges of the conquerors. The subjugated tribes were reduced to the condition of serfs and slaves, and the heads of the extended *Mbayá* families constituted a new aristocracy. However, their new social structure did not affect their original division into subtribes and bands.

Nobles and chiefs.—Two different types of noblemen (niniotagui) existed among the *Mbayá.* Those who inherited their status and those on whom the title was bestowed. The noblemen of the second category were individuals born at the same time as a chief's son, who received a title as a special favor. The lowest ranking nobility, they were called "niniòni-iguagua" (those who are like chiefs) and had neither followers nor houses of their own. They did not transmit their rank to their children and had to obey like any commoner.

The blood nobility was itself divided into two classes. The higher group comprised the senior members of an aristocratic lineage, and consisted of the chiefs of large bands and of subtribes. The second class of noblemen included all lesser chiefs and "all the [great chiefs'] descendants and relatives of both sexes, in whatever line or degree."

Mbayá chiefs were inordinately vain about their pedigrees and affected the greatest pride and insolence. The birth of a chief's son was an occasion for solemn feasts and for games which lasted several days. The education of a chief's male children was entrusted to distinguished persons, who were assigned a special hut. Every important event in the life of a chiefly heir, such as his weaning or his participation in children's games, was celebrated publicly with general rejoicing.

Nevertheless, the exalted position of the chiefs did not give them absolute power. Their decisions had to be approved by the council of the lesser chiefs, old men, and distinguished warriors. Great chiefs, however, could take the initiative in enterprises involving the subtribe or the band, such as migrations or war. (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 2: 19–23.)

When a chief decided to move the camp, he summoned a council of the men of his own band and arranged the details of the journey with them. Then he dispatched heralds to the lesser chiefs, who had remained in their huts, to explain the decisions made by the great chief. The lesser chiefs expressed their agreement by a stereotyped formula in which they lauded the wisdom of their leader, and said, "We shall march where he wants us to go." The ceremony was repeated every morning of the journey. When a war expedition was contemplated, however, the lesser chiefs met with the great chief.

An heir to the chiefly dignity who was deemed unfit for his position was removed by the council, which then selected another chief. In order to keep up at least an appearance of legitimacy, the new leader was officially regarded as the mouthpiece of the deposed chief.

Warriors.—The second social class, far more numerous than that of the noblemen, consisted of warriors. "The status of warrior," writes Moure (1862, p. 41), "was transmissible, as was that of captain, which entailed important privileges." Unfortunately, our sources are silent about the prerogatives and position of warriors relative to the members of the aristocracy.

Serfs.—The subjugation of *Guaná* farmers by *Mbayá* bands is pre-Columbian. In 1552 Ulrich Schmidel observed that the relationship of the *Guaná* to the *Mbayá* was like that of German peasants to their feudal lords. This peculiar symbiosis between the *Guaná* farmers and the nomadic or half-nomadic *Mbayá* may not have been accomplished entirely by force. Sánchez Labrador states that some *Guaná* had become serfs as the result of a marriage policy systematically followed by *Mbayá* chiefs. By marrying a *Guaná* chieftainess, a *Mbayá* "captain" became the suzerain of his wife's subjects. In 1766 the chief of the *Eyibogodegí* subtribe had taken as his second wife the chieftainess of the *Guaná* subtribe of the *Echoaladi*, whom the *Mbayá* already considered to be their serfs. This and similar cases may have suggested to Sánchez Labrador his historical explanation of the political and social subordination of the *Guaná*. This author also brings out the interesting fact that the *Guaná* considered themselves subordinate only to *Mbayá* chiefs, whom they called "our lords," but not to the rank and file of the tribe, whom they adressed as "our brothers." Unions between *Mbayá* chiefs and *Guaná* women may have strengthened the bonds between the two tribes, but cannot entirely account for *Mbayá* ascendency and *Guaná* subserviency. Actually, the *Guaná*, instead of pledging obedience to the *Mbayá* as their rightful lords, were restive and weary of the latter's off-hand manners and of their heavy demands. During the 19th century, the *Guaná*, encouraged by Brazilian support, finally put an end to this ancient bondage. Though the marriage policy might have been important, it seems more probable, as Almeida da Serra hinted in the 18th century, that the *Mbayá* established their suzerainty over the *Guaná* by harassing them for years, laying waste their fields, and ambushing them outside their villages. The hard-pressed *Guaná* farmers bought peace by paying tributes of food, cloth, and other commodities, and by serving the *Mbayá* whenever they were needed. After the *Mbayá* regarded the *Guaná* as their subjects, they protected them against the inroads of the other warlike tribes, such as the *Zamuco*, *Lengua*, and *Macá*.

Every year at harvest time a *Mbayá* band would spend a few days in the village of its *Guaná* subjects. Each chief stayed with his own vassals, and the presence of any chief who was not a lawful suzerain of that particular *Guaná* village was not tolerated. Even a chief's wife who had hereditary rights over another *Guaná* group left her husband and visited her own vassals. The *Guaná* entertained their suzerain and his retinue. They brought the expected tribute of blankets and of urucú (*Bixa orellana*) to the chief alone, for they felt no obligation toward other members of their master's band. The presents of the *Guaná* were not precisely a tribute, for the *Mbayá* gave them in return iron objects and glass beads which they had looted or traded from the Spaniards. The "noblesse oblige" principle also influenced the attitude of the lords, for though the *Guaná* stole whatever they needed from their masters, such thefts were in part sanctioned by custom and only elicited from the *Mbayá* contemptuous remarks, such as, "These *Guaná* are indeed thieves." The *Mbayá* chiefs distributed the presents of the *Guaná* among their retinue and kept only a few things for themselves.

The *Guaná* who served in *Mbayá* villages, and who at times outnumbered their masters, were not obliged to remain among them but could leave of their own accord. Apparently, they offered their services in return for some reward, the nature of which is not stated. It is specifically reported, however, that *Guaná* boys found life among the *Mbayá* pleasant; the main attractions were horseback rides and easy intrigues with *Mbayá* girls. The *Guaná* men who settled among the *Mbayá* tilled the soil, and the women wove cotton garments or made pottery for their masters. The *Mbayá* were kind and condescending to the *Guaná*, but many small details revealed the social differences. No *Guaná* servant could wear showy feather ornaments or paint himself with urucú without special permission from his master. When sitting around the fire, the *Guaná* were not handed the pipe that passed from mouth to mouth. Even their chiefs suffered humiliations if they made the slightest attempt to put themselves on equal footing with their suzerains. A *Mbayá* chief who had been invited by a Portuguese to dine with some *Guaná* chiefs forced them to leave the table and to sit on the floor.

Slaves.—When referring to the servile population in *Mbayá* camps, our sources do not always draw a clear-cut distinction between the *Guaná* serfs and the war captives, though their respective status was obviously different. The slaves, properly speaking, were only the war captives and their descendants. Among these were representatives of the following tribes: *Guachí*, *Guató*, *Guaraní*, *Caingang*, *Bororo*, *Cayapó*, *Chiquito*, *Chamacoco*, and even a few Paraguayan Mestizos. In 1802 the *Chamacoco*, hoping to avert further *Mbayá* raids, sold them 600 slaves, among whom were not only *Tumerehã* captives, but also many of their own children.

The possession of many slaves or servants was a symbol of prestige and rank. Nothing flattered the vanity of a *Mbayá* chief more than to be followed or served at table by a large retinue of slaves. *Mbayá* women were equally eager to appear in public surrounded by female servants. "Ladies" felt mortified when they lacked slaves to carry their possessions.

Slaves were, as a rule, kindly treated and were considered as rightful members of their master's family. They ate with him, took part in games as free men, and were even permitted to attend war councils. At home, however, they were relegated to the quarters farthest away from those of the household's head.

The main duties of the slaves were to fetch fuel, cook, tend horses, build huts, till the soil, and, sometimes, to hunt and fish.

Though a definite emphasis was placed on blood purity, marriages between women captives and free men or between free women and slaves were not uncommon. Many well-known *Mbayá* chiefs had *Guaná* or *Chamacoco* mothers. The status of the slaves did not improve by such unions, but children born of these marriages were free men, though their partly servile origin was a blot to which malevolent persons might refer. A few slaves, through personal merit or after the death of their master, could become free men.

In aboriginal times slaves could not be sold, but this rule was changed under the influence of the Spaniards and Portuguese. A man's slaves passed after his death to his son or to some other heir.

The most severe punishment that a *Mbayá* could inflict on an unruly slave was to threaten to take back the horses and other things he had given him and refuse to employ him any longer. The slave was thus shamed into good behavior.

By forcing the *Chamacoco* to supply them with slaves, the *Mbayá* unwittingly contributed to the formation of an incipient slave class among these Indians. Some captives were retained by the *Chamacoco* and, although well treated and allowed to marry free people, they were nevertheless compelled to perform menial tasks and could not own property. Slaves addressed their masters as "father."

The Payaguá, a canoe tribe.—The information given by Aguirre (1911, p. 376) on the social hierarchy among the *Payaguá* is somewhat obscure. He writes:

> The chiefs of the Sarigue subtribe were called coati, of whom there were two categories, the big ones and the small ones. They recognized and obeyed the main cacique and brought him food. The latter carried a stick, dressed in the best skin cloaks, and lived in a separate hut. As to the other chiefs, at least those whom the Payaguá call captains, they were not distinct from the rest of the people because they had to work for a living and were obliged to fish and to cut grass for fodder.

The *Payaguá* had a high regard for chiefly dignity and obeyed their lesser chiefs more readily than did other Indians. Blood purity was an important factor in determining an individual's status, though a title of nobility could be bestowed on young commoners at the ceremony in which the chief's son had his lip perforated to receive a labret.

The military societies.—Each *Abipón* band had a group of men, called hěcheri or nelereycatě, who enjoyed special prestige and influence. Dobrizhoffer refers to them as "noblemen," but actually they were members of a military order or society of those who had gained fame by their war deeds.

Admission to the order was preceded by a test of fortitude and by various ceremonies. The candidate, with a black bead placed on his tongue, had to sit still for 3 days without speaking, eating, or drinking. After the ordeal, women surrounded him and mourned his ancestors. Then, mounted on a horse, he called on an old medicine woman whose hut he approached from the four directions of the compass successively, pausing each time to listen to homilies she delivered for his benefit. His head was then shaved, and the old woman celebrated his exploits and his forefathers' military fame. He was given a new name, characterized by the ending "in," which was reserved to the members of the order. The name was immediately promulgated and "festively pronounced by a band of women striking their lips with their hands." A drinking bout closed the ceremony. The hěcheri differentiated themselves from other people not by special ornaments, but by certain mannerisms of speech or the profuse use of redundant syllables which gave to their language a "noble" turn. Those who addressed them had to add the suffix "in" to words. Moreover, the members of the society had some words peculiar to themselves. Some hěcheri, however, scornful of the privilege, were content with normal speech. There were also warriors of renown who for one reason or another obstinately refused to join the military society. Some women were admitted into the order by virtue of the "merits of their parents, husbands, or brothers." The new name which they assumed ended with the "en" suffix.

A military order composed of outstanding warriors seems to have existed among the pre-equestrian *Mbayá*, when they were known as *Guaicurú*. Young warriors who had distinguished themselves in battle were urged to go through an initiation ceremony which placed them on an equal level with elder warriors. They appeared in public with paint and elaborate feather ornaments, and with their hair shaved except for a band from one ear to the other. They played the drum and chanted for a whole day and were repeatedly jabbed by adult warriors, who smeared their heads with the oozing blood.

Warrior societies, which probably existed in pre-Conquest times, must have contributed to the formation of a military nobility. Even among the *Abipón*, who retained much of the old democratic spirit of the band, ceremonial recognition was accorded not only the candidate, but also his forefathers. The *Mocoví* noblemen were merely members of military societies.

The Arawakan tribes.—The *Tereno* are divided into two endogamous moieties, one called the good one and the other the bad one. Each is said to be related to one of the mythical twins. The moieties are not segregated and the division becomes apparent only during the yearly war dance, known as the "dance-of-the-ostrich-feather-dress."

The *Tereno*, who like all the *Guaná* subtribes reshaped their society on the *Mbayá* pattern, even in recent years recognized three distinct soccial ranks: the chief's class (nati), the warriors (shunachati), and the camp followers (machatichane). The last were at the service of the warriors but could be raised to the warrior's rank after killing many enemies. Intermarriage between these classes was not allowed and was even punishable.

The *Guaná* were ruled by hereditary chiefs who enjoyed consideration and influence in the assemblies, but their power depended on "their personal renown, force of character, and ability as leaders" (Hay, 1928, p. 107). Chiefs controlled local affairs and enforced the laws, but they could not take any initiative without the approval of the council of warriors.

Among the *Tereno*, authority was divided between the heads of the extended families, the village chiefs, and the paramount chief of the tribe—an office probably forced on them by the Brazilians.

A *Tereno* chief's oldest son succeeded to his title unless one of his father's brother's sons was older. Next in line came the chief's oldest grandson or his brother's grandson; then followed the oldest son of the chief's sister, the husband of the chief's oldest daughter, the oldest son of the chief's oldest daughter, the husband of the oldest daughter of the chief's brother's grandson, the chief's oldest sister's husband, and the husband of the chief's sister's oldest daughter. Hay (1928, p. 107), confirming a statement made by Sánchez Labrador and Rengger,[43] says that even nowadays women may succeed to a chief's title.

This rule of succession explains why *Mbayá* chiefs who marry *Guaná* chieftainesses were regarded by the latters' subjects as their lawful leaders.

All the boys born within a few months of the chief's son were regarded at his particular followers. When the heir apparent became 15, his father invited all the chiefs of the region to a big feast. Wearing all their ornaments, painted all over, and singing, they circled the young man. The ceremony was followed by 2- to 4-day banquets.

Kinship terms.—Extensive lists of kinship terms have been recorded only among the *Mataco*, the *Tereno*, and the *Pilagá*. These three tribes distinguish grandparents according to sex, and extend these terms to include all the grandparents' siblings and spouses. They have special terms for uncle and aunt, but do not distinguish between the siblings of either parent. In Ego's generation, younger siblings are distinguished from older ones and the same terms are applied to parallel- and cross-cousins. The *Mataco* and *Tereno* call their siblings' children "nephew" and "niece." The children of sons, daughters, nephews, and nieces are all designated as "grandchildren."

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[43] Rengger (1835, p. 335) writes, "Chiefly dignity is hereditary and when the male line is extinct it passes to the widow or the daughter of the deceased chief. If she marries, her husband becomes chief. She may divorce him and her third husband assumes then the rank of chief. Chiefs do not wear any insignia and do not receive any tribute. They are always at the head of the group in peace or in war time."

The *Mataco* classify the father-in-law and mother-in-law with the grandparents, and the children-in-law are equated to the grandchildren. All other affinal relatives may be addressed by terms meaning "male-" or "female-relative-in-law." If, however, there is a close tie between affinal relatives of different generations, they address each other as "grandparent" or "grandchild." There is a special *Mataco* term for the spouse of the brother- or sister-in-law.

ETIQUETTE

In many Chaco tribes (*Lengua-Macá*,[44] *Kaskihá*, *Choroti*, *Vilela*, *Chamacoco*) a person who returns from a long absence is greeted with tears and funeral laments if someone has died in the group while he was away. Such manifestations of grief serve to notify the traveler of the sad event. The members of a *Mbayá* band who had been absent from the village when a death had occurred cried and moaned as soon as they returned home.

The visit of a *Mbayá* chief to some colleague was marked by elaborate formalities. Before entering the village, the visitor sent four messengers who sat down on either side of the prospective host; after a moment of silence, they rose and delivered a speech announcing the arrival of the chief's "brother." The chief then begged them to sit down, thanked them, and served them food. Afterward he dispatched emissaries to greet the distinguished guest and to guide him to the temporary tent erected for his lodging, where he was given food and was formally visited by his host. A musician, covered with feather ornaments and profusely painted, sang in honor of the visitor to the accompaniment of a gourd rattle and a drum. The climax of the reception was a party at which everyone drank mead to his heart's content.

When a *Mbayá* band went to call formally on another band, the visitors stopped the day before a short distance from the host's village, where they painted themselves and donned their best ornaments. The next morning, several mounted scouts approached the village and fought a mock skirmish. The others came on foot and were engaged in a general boxing tournament by their hosts. After exchanging a few blows, the visitors stormed the village and pillaged whatever their hosts had been unable to hide the day before. After this simulated warfare, they all sat down to eat and drink together.

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[44] Azara (1809, 2:151) says: "Ils [the *Lengua*] emploient entr'eux une singulière formule de politesse, lorsqu'ils revoient quelqu'un après quelque tems d'absence. Voici à quoi elle se réduit: les deux indiens versent quelques larmes avant que de se dire un seul mot; en agir autrement serait un outrage, ou du moins une preuve que la visite n'est pas agréable."

In most *Guaicuruan*-speaking tribes, when some member of the band or a visitor was about to set out on a journey, an old woman would dance a few steps and chant a magic formula to bless him (*Mbayá*, *Pilagá*, *Abipón*). A returning traveler or a guest was often received in the same manner. Among the *Kaskihá*, the old women who performed the rite unburdened their visitor and carried his weapons or his load to their huts, while chanting plaintively.

The *Mocoví* greeting was, "Here I am," to which the host answered, "You are here." The same formula, with a slight grammatical change. was used both by noble people and by those who addressed them. No *Mocoví* would enter a house or dismount from his horse without an invitation. When asked why he had come, the conventional reply was, "Just for nothing." Like modern *Toba*, they took leave by simply saying, "I am leaving," to which those present replied, "Go." To omit this courtesy was interpreted as evidence of anger.

During a meeting, all participants had to declare in turn that it had lasted long enough before adjourning. Good breeding demanded that a man who met another on the road inquired where he was going.

When the *Ashluslay*, *Pilagá*, or *Chorotí* arrive at a village as visitors, they spend the first night singing to the rhythm of their rattles a chant by which they express their friendly intentions.

WARFARE

All Chaco Indians were extremely warlike; many still are. The most bellicose were the members of the *Guaicuruan* family, who were greatly feared not only by their neighbors but also by the Spaniards. The *Abipón* and the *Mbayá* were among the few Indian tribes of South America that challenged Spanish domination and repeatedly defeated the Whites. Dobrizhoffer (1784) says of the *Abipón*, "Their whole soul was bent upon arms." There is little doubt that the introduction of the horse, which placed the Indian warrior on equal footing with the Spaniard and added to his mobility, accentuated the warlike disposition of the *Guaicurú* and increased the militaristic trend of their culture. Chance alone does not account for the fact that all the horsemen of the Chaco were *Guaicuruan*-speaking Indians; They wanted the horse because it meant more to them than to their less aggressive neighbors.

The main motives which prompted Chaco Indians to make war were: Revenge for the death of some member of the group caused by overt violence or witchcraft; trespassing on hunting or fishing grounds; loot, especially herds of sheep and other animals; and the desire to capture women and children (*Mbayá*, *Mocoví*).

Many tribes in the Chaco were and still are traditional enemies; thus, from time immemorial, the *Toba* and the *Pilagá* have waged a bitter war against their neighbors across the Pilcomayo River, the *Ashluslay* and the *Macá*. The *Mataco* and *Toba* have ceased killing each other only in recent times. The *Lengua* continually skirmish with the tribes along their western borders. Alliances between tribes occurred very seldom, but on several occasions the *Abipón* banded with the *Toba* and *Mocoví* to raid the Spanish frontier.

In former days, the decision to begin a campaign against an enemy band or tribe was made by a chief. As a rule, he invited his fellow leaders to a drinking bout to discuss the matter with them and gain their approval and cooperation. At such a meeting the leader of the expedition was chosen. Among the *Toba*, if the band chief were too old, some younger and more enterprising warrior, generally one of his close relatives, was selected. The power of a war leader was in sharp contrast to the lax and indefinite authority which a chief enjoyed in peacetime; nevertheless, an *Abipón* war chief could not prevent the desertion of families that were unwilling to fight. The decision to wage war was an occasion for merrymaking, drinking, dancing, and celebrating the anticipated victory. A *Lengua* band preparing for war summoned the other bands by sending messengers with red arrows, who told them the place of rendezvous.

The duties of an *Abipón* war leader were to gain allies, to take all measures for the safety of noncombatants, to see that the war party had the necessary horses and weapons, and to organize the information service by sending scouts and spies ahead of the troup. The chief rode in front of his men and was the first to charge the enemy. The *Mbayá* war chiefs, on the other hand, brought up the rear.

The *Pilagá*, before marching against the enemy, drank beer and performed the dance of courage to make them valiant. The women had to observe several taboos lest they harm their men during their absence. For instance, they might not twist cordage on their thighs, as this would prevent the warriors from running fast enough. Menstruating women might not sit on the ground. Sexual intercourse before a war expedition was regarded as extremely dangerous. The warriors themselves could not eat the head, the legs, or the grease of any game. The *Abipón* regarded the period of the waning moon as the most propitious time to set out to war.

No special order was kept during the march. The Indians scattered every day in order to hunt, but at night they met at a designated place. Camps were selected so that the natural protection of a river, lake, or wood prevented surprise attacks. When resting in the evening, the shamans, who accompanied the *Pilagá*, fell into a trance, and their familiar spirits helped them ascertain the whereabouts of the enemy. During the night, the *Abipón* scouted the nearby plains, sometimes blowing horns and trumpets, to make sure that there was no danger nearby.

Before attacking, the chiefs waited for the reports of scouts sent to observe the movements of their opponents. The men crawled close to the enemy camps and remained in touch with one another by imitating animal and bird calls. They also conveyed messages by breaking branches in a special way or by tying knots in the high grass. To avoid leaving footprints, they tied pieces of skin to the soles of their feet (*Abipón*). The *Lengua* posted messengers at set intervals so that the scouts could always communicate with the main troops.

Just before engaging the enemy, if circumstances permitted, the *Abipón*, *Toba*, and probably all other Chaco Indians brewed mead and celebrated a drinking bout during which they threatened their enemies and celebrated their own past deeds with rhetorical outbursts. Before the battle, all Chaco Indians except the *Mbayá* painted themselves with red and black dyes. The *Mbayá* used black but never red dye which, for an obvious association, they believed would bring bad luck. Warriors also donned their best ornaments. Head bands decorated with horns or toucan beaks or hairnets of red wool were generally worn on the battlefield by the *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, and *Mbayá*.

Indian tactics always aimed at avoiding casualties. Even the bellicose *Abipón* or *Mbayá* would flee if they suffered a few losses; battles were, therefore, rarely bloody, unless a surprise attack succeeded. A war party usually sought to storm the unsuspecting enemy camp before dawn when everybody was still asleep. After shooting a few volleys and setting fire to the huts with incendiary arrows, the attackers, armed with clubs, would rush into the village to massacre everybody except young women and children. The surprised victims would try to resist long enough to allow the women and children to run away into the bush, where they scattered to avoid mass capture. The attack was also preceded by a terrific shouting and the playing of trumpets or clarinets. Like some North American Indians, the *Toba*, when charging their enemies, shouted while striking their mouths with their hands. The *Mbayá* formed a crescent with flute players in the center. The *Mocoví* generally placed themselves in two lines around their chief, according to the closeness of their relationship to him. The *Abipón* put archers in the middle and spearmen on the wings. They rarely fought on horseback, but left their mounts at some distance to the rear guarded by a special troop of younger men; but sometimes they attacked on horseback, and charged in several parties to harass the enemy on all sides. They had marvelous control over their horses: they could hang from their mounts or, to avoid missiles, conceal themselves entirely under their horses' bellies. The *Mocoví* cavalry was followed by infantrymen, and, while the main body fought, small groups raided the horses and cattle.

When fighting on foot, the Indians dodged about constantly to avoid enemy arrows, and continually howled to sustain their courage and frighten the opponents.

A common ruse which the *Abipón* used against the Spaniards was to disband as if to run away and then rush back as soon as the latter had broken their ranks to pursue them.

A victorious *Abipón* party informed its village through a messenger, who first enumerated the casualties suffered by the enemies and the booty taken. This news was hailed by a crowd of women and old men who struck their lips with the right hand. No herald ever mentioned a deceased warrior by name but referred to him as the relative of so and so. The warriors returned home individually, without ostentation. If a young *Mbayá* had killed an enemy, his mother made gifts to his companions and organized a drinking bout.

There is no mention of disputes over the booty. Each man brought home his captives, herds, or other loot. A *Pilagá* chief gave all his spoils to his followers and only retained one captive (Arnott, 1934 a). It is stated that *Mbayá* slaves who fought by the side of their masters were allowed to keep the prisoners they had taken.

Trophies.—For trophies, the Indians took either heads (ancient *Guaicurú*) or scalps (*Mataco*, *Choroti*, *Ashluslay*, *Chunupi*, *Isistiné*, *Lule*, *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Mbayá*). *Abipón* and *Mataco* scalped so as to include the skin of the nose and ears. The *Ashluslay* dried scalps over smoke and mounted on a wooden hoop.

The *Abipón*, like so many South American tribes, used the bones of their dead enemies to make pipes or whistles and their skulls for cups.

Victory feasts.—A victorious *Toba* or *Pilagá* war party was received by women who danced holding tufts of red feathers. Warriors handed their scalps to the women, particularly to those who had lost a husband in the war. The women danced and played with these trophies, derisively treating them as husbands or lovers and improvising comic dialogue between the scalps and themselves. The warriors, who wore masks made of bags stretched over a wooden frame and decorated with feathers and who painted red and black stripes across their bodies and attached bells to their ankles, danced to drums around a pole on the top of which the scalps hung (pl. 74, *top*). During the dance, which consisted mainly of running wildly about, they punctured themselves with bone awls trimmed with feathers and sang their personal songs or those inherited from their fathers. They shouted to the scalps, "May he die," an apostrophe directed either at the soul of the enemy or at his kin. A man who had killed an enemy was entitled to wear the red feathers of certain birds and to carry a ceremonial cord covered with beads. (See Arnott, 1934 a; Métraux, 1937, pp. 396–398; Rydén, 1935.)

Mocoví warriors brought home the skulls or the scalps of their slain foes, and were received by old women who danced, beat drums, and shouted, striking their mouths with their hands. The trophies were suspended from posts around which old women danced every day for a month. A warrior attached a new feather to his spear every time he killed a man.

The *Lule* also celebrated their triumphs by giving the scalps to old women, who danced with them (Fúrlong C., 1941, p. 84).

The *Mbayá* women carried the scalps, bones, and weapons of the enemy on their husbands' spears, to celebrate the prowess of their men. The victory feast terminated in boxing matches.

The *Abipón* solemnly celebrated the anniversaries of great victories. The heads of the extended families were invited by criers or heralds, generally old medicine men of low birth, who, carrying a stick with a little bell, visited each house. The women received them, striking their lips and shouting. The herald handed them the stick, delivered his message, and, taking back the stick, went on. For the occasion, the host built a large hall to shelter his guests. The scalps taken during the battle were displayed on a reed platform nearby and were hung on spears fixed in the middle of the plaza where the people sat. The Indians drank profusely and at night listened to "bards" who, chanting in pairs, related their heroic deeds and derided their enemies. The subjects of these epics, according to Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:478) were "warlike expeditions, slaughters, and spoils of the enemy, the taking of towns, the plundering of wagons and estates, the burning and depopulation of colonies of the Spaniards."

Peace making.—A *Lengua* band that wanted peace sent emissaries carrying bundles of arrows and bows tied together. They were received by a deputation from the enemy village. Peace could not be sealed before both enemy groups had paid the wergild for all the dead of the respective families. Members of neutral bands were used as go-betweens.

Treatment of prisoners.—Men were rarely spared by the *Mbayá* unless they could be sold as slaves to the Spaniards. Women, especially if young, and children were captured and incorporated into the victor's tribe. The *Mbayá*, *Mocoví*, *Abipón*, and *Chamacoco* are the only Chaco Indians who treated the women or children captives as slaves rather than as rightful members of the group.

The "Comentarios de Alvar Nuñez Cabeza de Vaca" state (Hernández, 1852, p. 564) that among the *Mbayá* a woman could intervene to save a prisoner's life and even gain his freedom. A captive might be adopted into the tribe if he wished.

The *Abipón* pretended to despise their war captives and theoretically refused to intermarry with them even though they were Spaniards. The honor of a kidnapped White woman was said to have been safe, not because they respected her, but, on the contrary, because they did not wish to lose caste by taking her as a wife or concubine. War prisoners enjoyed great freedom, and many took such a liking to the roaming life of their captors that they refused to be ransomed. Some *Abipón* masters were so fond of their slaves that they preferred to starve rather than deprive their captives of food. The captives performed menial tasks, which, however, were always requested in a gentle manner, and they rarely or never received corporal punishment. (For the treatment of war captives among the *Mbayá*, see Social Organization, p. 307.)

The *Payaguá* either killed their prisoners or sent them back to their families for a ransom of food.

Signals.—Chaco Indians on the warpath or on hunting trips have various methods of communication. They warn of an impending danger with columns of smoke. Bunches of grass knotted in a certain way and placed on a forked limb show stragglers the direction taken by their companions. The position and the nature of an object left as a signal convey various kinds of information. The inclination of a stick tells the distance from one point to another, probably showing, as a sundial, the time needed for covering it. Objects hanging from a branch announce to late-comers that the band has left for a feast. An arrow means war or trouble (*Toba*, *Payaguá*, *Lengua*).

LIFE CYCLE

Pregnancy.—Several Chaco tribes believe that children are formed by the sperm which sprouts in the womb like seed in the earth, and that the presence of the fetus blocks the flow of menstrual blood. The *Mataco* attribute sterility to an obstruction in the uterus, which is caused by sorcery and is difficult to cure. *Toba* and *Mataco* believe that intercourse must be repeated to cause pregnancy; men wishing to produce abundant sperm, drink broths made of various birds.

When a woman knows that she is pregnant, she and her husband abstain from foods and activities which may endanger the delivery, or harm the child's appearance or character. These taboos are enforced until the child is regarded as sufficiently developed. Birds are especially excluded from the diet; so are many animals and certain parts of animals. For instance, the *Toba* and *Pilagá* may not eat the legs and brains of game lest the baby be born bowlegged or with an open skull. To eat the heads of certain animals would threaten the child's life. The husband of an expectant mother has to cease certain kinds of work: He may not use cutting instruments, for if he were to fell a tree, the baby would be born with a cleft lip; he may not wear boots lest the child's legs be crooked. If he keeps his hat on, the child's skull will be flat. Just before confinement, the husband unties his belt and loosens his garments to facilitate delivery. He removes his necklace lest the navel cord strangle the baby. A prospective *Pilagá* father is convinced that to clean his pipe with a straw would cause the fetus to choke. Before childbirth, *Pilagá* women rub stingray fat on their stomachs to facilitate delivery, because this fish carries its "babies in a pocket outside its body" (Palavecino, 1933 a, p. 539).

Childbirth.—Detailed information on childbirth is available only for the *Mataco*. A *Mataco* woman in labor is generally surrounded by female relatives or friends who are ready to assist her. She sits on the thighs of some older woman who squats on the ground and, to ease the pain, clings to a post in front of her. She is usually delivered in this position. If labor is unusually long—a circumstance attributed to sorcery or to the husband's negligence—some self-styled midwife presses the lower part of her abdomen. Until the placenta is expelled, they are loath to cut the cord.

An *Ashluslay* woman gives birth in a squatting position, assisted by her mother, who cuts the navel cord. Childbirth takes place under a shelter built ad hoc.

According to Hassler (1894, p. 354), a *Kaskihá* woman was delivered in a special cabin built in the bush, where she was helped by another woman. The navel cord, cut with a bone knife, was sent to the father, who placed it on the roof of the hut if the child were a boy, or buried it if it were a girl. The mother remained home for about 40 days living exclusively on vegetables. The father refrained from eating meat for about 8 days after his child's birth, and was particularly careful not to get his feet wet.

The *Choroti*, *Toba*, and *Ashluslay*, though well acquainted with metal tools, use only the ancient bamboo or shell knife to cut the cord. The *Choroti* and the *Toba* are said to keep it until the navel wound is perfectly healed.

Chamacoco women give birth in the bush, generally unassisted. They cut the navel cord with their nails and spit in the baby's eyes lest he be blind, a rite performed again later by a shaman. For a month, the mother eats nothing cold and lives on bird flesh, palm shoots, and boiled pigeon. She drinks only boiled water. The parents refrain from sexual intercourse for about 2 years (Baldus, 1931 a, p. 45).

An *Abipón* father of a newborn child fasted and lay in bed covered with mats and skins. For some time he refrained from snuffing tobacco, eating capybara flesh, riding horseback to the point of perspiring, tasting honey taken from the earth in a place that had been stepped on, and swimming across rivers. *Tereno* fathers observed a 5-day couvade and abstained from several foods.

As a rule, there is no elaborate childbirth ceremony except for a chief's son, and its importance is proportionate to the chief's prestige. For an ordinary birth, a *Toba* chants and rattles his gourd, but at the birth of a chief's son, the whole community dances and makes merry for several days while shamans recite charms to the rhythm of the gourd rattles. The ancient *Mbayá* celebrated the birth of a male heir to a great chief by dancing, playing games, and parading for 8 days. The most spectacular show was a parade of old women impersonating *Mocoví* warriors. The masqueraders visited the baby, wearing horsehair wigs symbolizing scalps and holding ceremonial arrows and miniature bows and spears. They vied for the honor of giving the breast to the baby, and presented him a decorated mat. The chief's baby spent a night with another baby who was to become his brother-in-arms. Both were then taken to the chief's hut under a canopy, and were followed by a long procession. On the eighth day the baby's hair was cut, and his ears and lip perforated.

The *Abipón* also rejoiced for 8 days in similar circumstances. As soon as the baby was born, women beat the roof and walls of his hut with palm boughs to signify that "the child was to become famous in war and the scourge of his enemies." Another performance was that of the girls who, led by a strong woman wearing a rhea feather apron and holding a whip, beat all the men. The same strong woman challenged all the stout women to wrestle. The following 4 days were devoted to games, drinking bouts, and singing accompanied by drums. On the 3rd day boys and girls formed a circle and danced, whirling around under the direction of an old precentress who shook a gourd rattle.

Women carry their babies in a sling, straddling the left hip (pl. 67). *Payaguá* mothers are said to have facilitated nursing by compressing their breasts with a leather strap passing across the chest.

Abortion and infanticide.—The rapid decline of so many Chaco tribes has often been explained by the deeply rooted practice of infanticide so general throughout the Chaco. The vehement accusations of infanticide made by the early missionaries have, in fact, been borne out by modern evidence. When an unmarried *Mataco*, *Chorotí*, or *Toba* girl is pregnant, she commits abortion or kills her baby without the slightest hesitation. The *Mbayá* women did the same in order to postpone becoming mothers as long as possible. It is reported that even married *Mataco* women provoke a miscarriage at their first pregnancy to facilitate the delivery of the next child. Many legends circulating in the Chaco extol marvelous drugs used by the native women to cause abortion. Actually, the method is purely mechanical: in the third or fourth month of pregnancy a friend presses the woman's abdomen with her thumbs or fists or beats it until the fetus is dead.

A deserted woman always kills her newborn offspring. The *Lengua* invariably dispose of the first child, if it is a girl. Chaco women get rid of any abnormal baby, for instance, one with black skin.

Twins are usually killed, for their birth is regarded as a bad omen. The ancient *Lule*, who believed that a man could only father one child at a time, attributed twins to the mother's adultery and killed one baby (Lozano, 1941, p. 416). Twins born in a *Mbayá* community were taken to the shaman, who shut himself in a mat lodge, chanted, and shook his rattle while uttering gloomy prophecies, and then buried the babies alive or exposed them in the bush. Certain tribes rationalize such infanticide by saying that no woman can nurse two children. A bad dream prior to childbirth may also spell its death.

The preferred sex varies from tribe to tribe. The *Lengua* and *Guaná* kept only a few girls; the *Abipón*, on the contrary, preferred female children, recognizing that later they would bring a good bride price. If the mother died during childbirth, her child was buried alive with her.

Many theories attempt to explain the widespread practice of infanticide in the Chaco. One holds that the seminomadism of these Indians makes many children an excessive burden for the woman, who has to carry and care for them. Moreover, in several tribes where a nursing woman abstains from sexual intercourse with her husband, and childen are suckled 3 and even 4 years, she often prefers to kill her child rather than to be deserted (*Abipón*). The Jesuit Baucke (1870, p. 247), states that the *Mocoví* killed their newborn babies when there was the slightest suspicion of illegitimacy, when they had too many children, when they were on a journey, or when there was scarcity of food.

Naming.—Children are named after birds, animals, places, or some peculiar physical or character trait. Often a name may be suggested to a parent by some incident from real life or a dream. *Mataco* fathers not only name their children, when they are 2 or 3 years old, after some object or animal of which they have dreamed, but they even call them after disconnected words or sentences uttered by some character in a dream. Among the *Toba*, a child's relatives gather around it after the navel cord has dropped off. An old man recites a list of names until the shaman finds the appropriate one, usually that of some ancestor who is supposed to be reincarnated in the infant.[45]

The *Mataco* are always very reluctant to reveal their names, and when urged to do so, they ask some other person to pronounce it for them. These Indians will often contend that a person is nameless. To address an *Abipón* by his name was a grievous insult which he was morally obligated to avenge. *Tumerehã* men have several names: one given to them by the shaman and the others by their relatives. A woman's true name is never divulged even to her husband; the names to which she answers are known as "dog names."

There are only two brief references to teknonymy in the Chaco. *Mocoví* and *Lengua* parents were called "mother and father of so and so."

Education.—All observers have been impressed by the Chaco Indians' fondness for their children (pl. 67) and their failure to use corporal punishment or even harsh words in dealing with them. The *Mbayá* satisfied every whim of their children, and even willingly sold their horses or moved their camps if the children so desired. *Abipón* warriors interpreted a child's aggressive behavior, even when directed against the parents, as a sign of courage.

Children are trained for their future occupations first through games and play. Little girls accompany their mothers to the bush carrying diminutive nets or go to the river with toy water jars. Small boys are given bows and arrows and are encouraged to shoot at targets or at small animals. Boys of more or less the same age play in groups. They show little or no brutality or violence, and they rarely bully small children. The Indian children are normally remarkably gay and lively, and willingly perform any task demanded of them. From early childhood they are trained to share their food. Boys of 12 or 13 regard themselves as grown up; they participate in dances and take some interest in girls.

Boys' initiation rites.—Initiation rites are described only for the following tribes: *Mbayá*, *Payaguá*, *Vilela*, and *Chamacoco*. Grubb (1913, p. 177) alludes to a special dance to commemorate a boy's coming of age, but gives no detail.

A *Mbayá* boy of about 13 attained warrior's status through a ceremony. Having painted himself red and white and wearing all his feather, bead, and metal ornaments, he chanted for a whole night and day, beating a drum. At sunset a shaman pricked the boy's penis and jabbed his body with a jaguar-bone awl, causing blood to flow abundantly. The boy was expected to remain impassive. His blood was then smeared all over his body. Afterward the novice invited the band to drink, and threw beads, knives, and blankets to the crowd.

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[45] Palavecino (1933 a, p. 560) states that the *Pilagá* assume a new name—always that of an animal or plant—when they are sick.

There is some evidence in the literature that certain *Guaicurú* groups imposed this ordeal on young children, who likewise had to show their courage by not flinching. The lower lip was perforated by a famous warrior during early childhood. At puberty they jabbed the boy's genitals and pulled out one of the two remaining crowns of hair on his tonsured head. The adolescent was now regarded as an adult and was allowed to wear bracelets and a belt of animal or human hair.

The *Payaguá* perforated a boy's lower lip at the age of 4. For a chief's son, this was the occasion for a solemn feast. For several days the members of the group drank, chanted, and shook their rattles. Finally, a shaman holding the boy was paraded about on a profusely decorated litter. The crowd threw them many presents, such as necklaces, food, and cotton, and men sprinkled them with blood extracted from their genitals. Small boys of the same age were designated as soldiers of the future chief (Aguirre, 1911, p. 363).[46]

Paisan boys who had reached puberty underwent a mysterious ceremony celebrated around a sacred tree. The initiates, with cropped hair, returned to the village holding flowers or boughs. Thenceforth, they were regarded as fullfledged men.

Chamacoco initiation rites strangely resemble those of the *Yaghan* (p. 98).

Two men ask the boy's mother to give him to them. If she refuses, spirit-impersonators come to claim the youth. The boys are taken to a secluded place in the bush, where they live for a month with old men who teach them tribal lore and moral code. Finally, they are told that the "Spirits" who appear at the Anāpösö feast

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[46] Aguirre (1911, p. 363) states: "Ví una de estas celebrando á un niño como de 3 años, hijo de Samaniego Guachá, era indio principal Sarigue . . . Pusieron 400 varas de toldo, 40 palmas pequeñas y hasta ellas hicieron una calle de ramas plantadas. Al pié de aquellas, sobre cuatro palos largos en el medio unas tablas, y sobre estas por medio de unas estacas y esteras formaron un hueco, como de una pequeña carreta y aun asi nos la llaman, la cual emplumaron y adornaron. Habiendo procedido algunos dias y noches de borracheras, de canto con sus tamboretes sin faltar las heridas de la espina de raya, el del paseo y último de la celebración que se embijan a lo riguroso (en lo que he observado superan a las demas naciones) carga el padrino que siempre es uno de los pays al chico ambos extremosamente embijados y entran en la carreta. Tómala al hombro la indiana y por la calle van al toldo en cuyo frente da tres paseos cortos á la derecha y á la izquierda y vuelve despues al lugar de las palmas donde la deshacen al despojo.

"Durante el paseo es el alboroto: unos echan hacia la carreta, abalorios, chipas, frutas, ovillos de hilo, etc. que son para quién los coje; otros cantan y hacen gestos, principalmente las indias y tambien hay quienes la aspercean con su sangre, la más sagrada la del miembro mezclada con agua. Este es el obsequio del distinguido niño que como esperan ha de capitanear; entonces le nombran para soldados algunos coetanos que no gozan del ilustre rito de las andas, entre ellos negesí. Es puramente militar con cuyo objeto se hacen visibles los deseos del dia en los moquetes y luchas que resultan como en otras cucañas, en el canto, etc."

(p. 358) are merely masked men, and that if anyone reveals this secret to the women, he will be beaten to death (Métraux, 1943).

When *Guaná* children were 8 years old they were sent to the forest for a whole day of fasting and silence, and came back at night. Old women pinched and pierced their arms with sharp bones, a torture which the children had to endure without complaint.

Girls' puberty rites.—Among the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River tribes, a girl's puberty is celebrated with dances and chants which evidently are intended to protect her against supernatural dangers. The manner in which spirits threaten her is ritually dramatized by the *Lengua*. Women strike the ground with long staves, at the top of which are attached bunches of deer hoofs, and beat the time of their chant while walking around a choir leader. This precentress goes "through many strange contortions of the body, at times pretending to tear out her own hair." The men also form circles, each chanting to the rhythm of a gourd rattle. Lines of boys dressed in rhea plumes and wearing masks representing evil spirits, weave in and out among the crowd, jingling bunches of hoofs, and from time to time uttering prolonged shrill cries. Whenever they come near the girl, the women drive them off (Grubb, 1913, p. 178).

Among the *Choroti*, *Mataco*, and *Ashluslay*, some women—among the *Choroti* the mother and a few companions—walk in a circle every night outside of the menstruating girl's hut, stamping their staffs while shamans shake their rattles and beat drums. The performance of this rite lasts for a month. (See Karsten, 1932, pp. 83–84.) During this period, the girl keeps her head and even her body covered with a piece of cloth and must remain secluded in her hut. Her diet is restricted, and she is warned against bathing or even fetching water. Menstruating women always observe a meat taboo and stay away from streams or water holes (*Mataco*, *Mbayá*, *Pilagá*, *Toba*, *Macá*).

The puberty ritual was not always elaborate. The girl, covered with a blanket, was relegated to a corner of the hut while men paid by her parents took turns chanting for several days to the accompaniment of a drum and of rattles.

The *Mbayá* and *Toba* celebrated the first menstruation of a girl, especially of a chief's daughter, with special dances, much chanting, and shaking of rattles. In the 18th century, a *Toba* chief gave his daughter a big feast that culminated in a ceremony in which the girl, who was covered with a cloth and surrounded by the warriors, tasted meat for the first time. Henceforth regarded as a "lady," she was emancipated from her father's authority. To add to his daughter's prestige, a chief might present her with a scalp soon after the feast (Muriel, 1918, p. 82).

A matured *Mocoví* girl could be recognized by a crownlike tonsure around her head, vertical furrows 2 inches (5 cm.) wide cut in her thick hair, and her completed tatooing (Baucke, 1870, p. 314).

A *Tereno* girl menstruating for the first time was painted and placed in a hammock, where she maintained a strict fast while her relatives danced and chanted around her (Bach, 1916, p. 89).

As the behavior of a girl during the critical period of puberty was thought to affect her character for the rest of her life, *Mataco* girls were urged to work hard in order to become diligent women.

Sexual life before marriage.—The attitude of the Chaco Indians toward sexual life of unmarried girls seems to have varied in the different tribes. In the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River tribes, young pubescent girls enjoyed complete sexual freedom. They were provocative, fickle, and brazen, and took the initiative in short-lived, amorous adventures. At night when the boys danced on the village plaza, the girls chose their lovers for the night by grabbing their belts or putting their hands on their shoulders and dancing behind them. Some girls had huts in the bush to which they took their lovers. On the other hand, Dobrizhoffer greatly praised the strict chastity of the *Abipón* girls, who remained virgins until they married.

Homosexuality.—Berdaches were very common among the *Mbayá*. They dressed and spoke like women, pretended to menstruate, and engaged in feminine activities. They were regarded as the prostitutes of the village.

Marriage.—There is little information on preferential marriage. *Pilagá* bands seem to be more strictly exogamous than those of the *Mataco*.

The age at which men and women form permanent unions seems to vary according to the culture; the Pilcomayo River Indians marry a few years after puberty, but the bellicose equestrian Indians (*Abipón*, *Mbayá*) take wives only when they are around 30. It was *Chamacoco* custom for a very young man to marry an old woman, and for an adolescent girl to become the spouse of an old man. The young man could desert his old wife as soon as he tired of her, but a girl had to wait for the death of her old husband.

A formal proposal among the Pilcomayo River tribes is often made directly by the girl, who tries to marry a lover of whom she is fond, but young men negotiate through a go-between. The *Lengua* emissary visits the girl's parents for several days, smoking tobacco. A *Mataco* seeks to win the approval of a girl's family through presents of money or cattle. A *Toba* suitor often brings game or fish to his sweetheart's hut to prove his hunting skill. In general, the consent of the girl's mother is more important than that of her father, because when she opposes the marriage, the case is deemed hopeless. In ancient *Abipón* society, marriage was often arranged between the girl's parents and the bridegroom, often against the girl's wishes. The prospective husband had to pay his parents-in-law horses, necklaces, woolen garments, and spears with iron points.

Child betrothal.—*Mocoví* parents often selected brides for their sons when the boy and girl were both quite small. A great deal of familiarity existed between betrothed children. The prospective bridegroom now and then presented his future parents-in-law with horses, skins, honey, and game.

Guaná parents also betrothed their infant children; both mothers took leading parts in the negotiations. The prospective husband was regarded as an actual son-in-law and took good care of his future parent-in-law. This custom later fell into disuse.

Mataco parents often arrange a match when their children are very young. Later if the couple divorces, they give as an excuse: "We did not want the marriage, our parents arranged it for us."

Marriage ceremonial.—Marriage in the Pilcomayo River region is contracted with a minimum of ritual. At most there is some drinking, and young men may dance in a circle around the new couple. These dances are probably of the same character as those executed by *Chorotí* boys to coax the girls to select one of them as a husband.

The *Lengua* celebrate marriage by a long feast, which ends when the bridegroom ceremonially kidnaps the bride. At a given time, he runs off with his bride and hides a short distance from the village. After a mock pursuit, the couple returns. They pretend to be exhausted and are surrounded by women who pour water over them to cool them.

The *Abipón* are the only Chaco tribe who developed a complex marriage ritual. The bride was taken to the bridegroom's hut by eight other girls under a sort of canopy of blankets. She was first greeted by her spouse, and then was brought back to her parents. Later she carried to her husband's hut all her belongings, in a symbolic gesture, since residence was matrilocal until a child was born. A boy seated on top of the hut beat a drum while the guests drank to their hearts' content.

A *Mocoví* desiring to marry a girl obtained her parents' consent and agreed on the bride price—a few jaguar skins, necklaces, one or two horses, and a cow. The marriage ceremony included a symbolic kidnapping of the girl and a sham battle with her kin. The parents then brought the girl to the bridegroom's hut notwithstanding her feigned or real resistance and her tears. They gave her away, saying, "You may have her." Once in her husband's house propriety required that she cover her head with a net and sulk in a corner. Women immediately came to express their sympathy and console her. Her husband did not talk to her, but her relatives-in-law pressed kind attentions upon her and urged her to eat, an invitation which she usually refused. Later her husband ordered her to stop crying and to bring him some object. Compliance was interpreted as a growing willingness to accept her condition, and her husband invited her to eat. Gradually she began to answer questions and her real or affected chagrin disappeared. The girl's parents would sometimes take her back to their hut for 2 or 3 months at a time.

The *Tereno* also had a definite set of marriage customs. A group of girls, painted and adorned with feathers and singing, carried the bows and arrows of the bridegroom from his house to the bride's. In the evening, dancing and singing young men accompanied the bridegroom to the girl's hut, where, giving him her right hand, she sealed the marriage.

In other cases, both families organized parties. After celebrating at home, the bridegroom and his relatives proceeded to the bride's hut, where the couple sat in a hammock manufactured by the girl for the occasion and drank together while women chanted songs.

Types of marriages.—Monogamy prevails in practically all Chaco tribes, but cases of polygyny are not rare. Plural wives live in the same hut only if the man feels assured that they will not quarrel. They usually belong to different bands (*Abipón*, *Toba*), and the husband visits each in turn. The first wife, especially when she is no longer young, often welcomes a companion to relieve her of part of her work.

Polygyny is more common among chiefs than among ordinary members of the band. Aaikolik, a *Toba* chief, had 10 wives, each in a different village, but in other instances a chief kept 2 or 3 wives in his own huts.

There are specific references to sororal polygyny among the *Mataco* (Pelleschi, 1881, p. 85), the *Mocoví* (Fúrlong C., 1938 c, p. 98), and the *Tereno* (Bach, 1916, p. 89).

Postmarital residence.—In most Chaco tribes (*Mbayá*, *Toba*, *Mataco*, *Chorotí*, *Kaskihá*, *Guaná*, *Chamacoco*), residence is matrilocal. The young couple live with the girl's parents permanently (*Chamacoco*) or until they have a child; then they may return to live in the man's village (*Pilagá*). Daughters are an asset, for their husbands must contribute to their parents' welfare. Sometimes a husband is so exploited that he abandons his wife (*Mataco*). Matrilocal residence enables the parents-in-law to interfere if their daughter is mistreated. When a *Mocoví* married within his band, the bride lived in his hut, but when he took a wife from another band, he settled with his parents-in-law, a situation that, according to Baucke (1870, p. 316), caused many family quarrels. Among the *Mataco*, an older woman marrying a young man generally follows him to his house.

A groom avoided his parents-in-law only among the *Mbayá*, who also stressed matrilocal residence. In this tribe, a husband left all his property and his slaves behind, but in his new home he was supported by his parents-in-law. Only *Guaná* women went directly to live in their husbands' villages. Among the *Paisan* and *Atalala*, residence was decided in advance by the families. At marriage, the girl received a few presents and some horses from her father (Camaño y Bazán, 1931, p. 340). *Kaskihá* and *Chamacoco* chiefs or chiefs' sons did not change residence after marriage.

Marriage ties are always strengthened by the birth of a child, even if the child later dies. Nevertheless, divorces are frequent and easy, and may occur for the most trivial reasons; a simple quarrel may end in a permanent separation. A man is prone to desert his old wife for a younger bride, and a young woman may leave her husband for a lover. Laziness or bad temper is often given as the justification of divorce. After separation, small children usually go with the mother; older children may stay with the father. Public opinion restricts matrimonial instability. Though divorces were easy, the *Mbayá* would say of a man who repudiated his wife too often, "He is a fool, he left his wife again." A man divorced several times sometimes took back his first wife. *Mbayá* noblewomen are said to have had paramours who even slept with them without causing the husbands any concern. A deserted *Abipón* woman accepted her fate without complaint and no one would intervene in her behalf. At the next drinking bout, however, her relatives might attempt to avenge the affront. *Mataco* challenge men who have taken their wives or force seducers to give them some compensation. A woman is seldom punished for her unfaithfulness.

Constant separations seem to have been an accepted *Chamacoco* pattern. A man sometimes married 20 or 30 times, and did not remain faithful to his wife until he approached old age. A woman who had lived with a man even for a short time would refer to him as "my husband" and cry for him at his death. The last wife felt proud of the homage of her former rivals. *Chamacoco* girls competed fiercely for men's attentions and love, and no married woman dared relax her vigilance for an instant if she hoped to keep her husband. These conflicts often ended in open fights which the man witnessed with perfect unconcern. As long as a union lasted, the partners showed each other a great deal of tenderness (Baldus, 1931 a, p. 61).

The status of women in most Chaco tribes is high, and they seldom are abused or beaten by their husbands. Women are by no means subservient, and are treated as if on an equal footing. In *Chamacoco* and *Guaná* society they have a privileged position and make their authority felt.

Mbayá noblewomen seldom left their houses without a chaperon, but, in the presence of their husbands, certain women could use bawdy language and sometimes take even greater liberties (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 2:27). These are probably instances of joking relationships.

Death observances.—Most Chaco Indians so greatly fear the spirits of the dead that they scarcely wait until a person has actually passed away before beginning the funeral rites.

Preliminary rites.—As soon as the *Mbayá* suspected that someone was doomed, they hastily began the funeral preparations. Relatives painted a dying man, put his labret in his lip, and dressed him in all his ornaments; they trimmed a woman's hair and painted her face with designs. Meanwhile, a shaman strode up and down, occasionally pausing to squeeze the patient's stomach with great energy. Sometimes he walked around the village carrying a tuft of feathers in a last attempt to force the soul to return to the body.

When an *Abipón* was dying, the occupants of his hut immediately left, and old women, either his relatives or famed doctors, gathered around him to perform a magic dance accompanied by gourd rattles and "loud vociferations." An old woman or the leading female shaman struck a huge drum near the dying man's head. Water was sprinkled on his head. Meanwhile "married women and widows" in mourning-attire wailed and beat drums in the streets.

Often the *Mocoví* hastened a relative's death if, in their opinion, he was doomed or suffered. Women kept watch over a dying man and burst into laments when he expired. His wife, seizing his head and often striking him with her fists, said, by way of indirect praise, "You unfaithful and cruel man! Why have you left me? You were a skillful hunter and a gallant warrior. You have killed so many Spaniards! Where shall I again find your like? Don't you feel sorry for your children? Who is going to bring them food? From now on they will be obliged to wander around." For 3 or 4 nights all the women wailed in the funerary hut. During the day, the widow remained in her hut with her hair shaven and her head covered with a net.

The *Lengua-Cochaboth*, *Lule*, and *Lengua* were kind to the sick, but abandoned the hopelessly ill as if they had already passed away. The *Lengua* are loath to bury a person after sunset. Consequently, "whether he is dead or not, if there is no possible hope of his living through the night, his funeral begins in order that it may be completed before darkness sets in" (Grubb, 1913, p. 162). Asked by the missionary why they rushed to bury a man still alive, the *Malbalá* answered, "It does not matter, he will die on his way to the grave." When a *Chorotí* dies, shamans chant all night and women wail. *Payaguá* women alternately cried and danced around the funerary hut for 3 days, but men feigned indifference. The *Mbayá* women stood by the dead, wailing and singing his praises. Most Chaco Indians buried their relatives immediately after and sometimes before death.

If there were a suspicion of witchcraft, the *Abipón* removed and boiled the deceased's heart and tongue, and threw them to the dogs in order to harm the unknown sorcerer. The *Mocoví* covered the corpse of a victim of witchcraft with straw and burned it. Then the consulting shaman shot two arrows at the dead man's throat and one at his heart while uttering an incantation. Thus the guilty but unidentified sorcerer could not escape his fate (Baucke, 1870, p. 355).

The *Lengua* mutilate the corpse, before or after placing it in the grave. A wound is made where the evil spirit is supposed to have entered the body. They put a dog's bone, a heated stone, an armadillo's claw, and red ants in the gash. The stone is supposed to go to the Milky Way and later to fall as a shooting star on the sorcerer. The armadillo claw burrows underground and contributes to the destruction of the evildoer. These Indians also stop the mouth and the nostrils of the corpse with wax or clay.

When the *Ashluslay* suspect witchcraft as a cause of death, they perform a similar rite to incite the victim to kill his murderer. They cut flesh from the corpse's thigh and feed it to a dog, which they kill at once. They rub the deceased's face with magic herbs, pierce his chest with burning arrows, and drive a glowing stone into it. They throw heated arrows into the air, and shout. Finally they whip the corpse with thorny branches and lay it in a grave with the dead dog and a bird nest. Before covering the grave with branches, they break a pot full of clay on the deceased's back, and everyone clamours loudly (Vervoort, 1932, pp. 282–283).

Disposal of the dead.—Most Chaco Indians bury the corpse before rigor mortis sets in, in a flexed or squatting position in a shallow grave. The *Lengua*, it is said, broke the dead man's neck by bending the head down on the chest.

The *Lengua* strapped the body to a pole and carried it to a shallow grave at the edge of a wood, where they always turned it toward the west. They trampled the grave and covered it with thorny plants. The *Chorotí* erected a flimsy structure over the grave, and placed a calabash filled with water nearby.

Formerly, the *Mataco* placed the corpse on a platform in a tree (pl. 70) until the flesh rotted away, then they collected the bones and buried them in a communal cemetery. Sometimes they put the body in a grave which they left open until the bones were clean, then shifted the skeleton into a lateral niche, closed it, and filled the grave with earth. In some cases the corpse was buried at once in the lateral niche. A calabash full of water was deposited near the corpse.

Cremation is reported in the area; the *Toba* practiced it as a precaution when there was a suspicion of sorcery.

The *Chamacoco* extend the body and bury it face upward. Close relatives dance around the grave, shaking their rattles and jingles, then cover it with tree trunks and branches on which they leave the deceased's belongings.

The *Toba* and *Pilagá* inter their dead in a grave which they fill with soil, successive layers of grass and cover with palm trunks (pl. 69, *center*). Those who dig the grave retain some of the goods of the dead.

The *Payaguá* buried the dead on a small island. The corpse was interred extended or squatting with the head often covered by a vessel (Rengger, 1835, pp. 140–141). They heaped bell-shaped vases on a bulrush mat placed over the grave. Some of these vessels were pierced with holes "as outlets for the souls." A roof of mats sheltered the grave. Like other *Guaicuruan*-speaking Indians, the *Payaguá* "collected the bones of their dead and placed them in cemeteries" (Aguirre, 1911, p. 358).

The *Mbayá* wrapped the corpse in a blanket and carried it on horseback to a mortuary hut, built like an ordinary dwelling, in which each extended family owned a piece of ground marked off by posts. Women were interred with their bests jewels, and men with their silver ornaments and their weapons decorated with feathers and flowers. The sepulcher was covered by a mat on which were laid a few ornamental vases, often trimmed with beadwork. Carved posts from the deceased's hut were planted by his grave (Frič, 1906 b).

A person who died far from his village was buried in a temporary grave until his relatives could transport his bones to the communal cemetery. Modern *Mbayá-Caduveo* inter the dead in their own dwellings, but after 10 or 12 days unearth the remains, clean the bones, and transfer them to the family plot in the band's funeral house.

Among the *Mocoví*, the corpse, wrapped in a skin or a net, was buried in a shallow grave 1½ feet (0.45 m.) deep. The pit was covered with logs and branches on which earth was scattered. Nearby were placed a plate with food and a water jar. In the case of a child, one hand remained uncovered to receive the food which its parents brought.

The *Abipón* temporarily interred the dead in shallow pits covered with thorny boughs, and left a pot, garments, and a spear on the grave. The grave was dug by the women who also carried the corpse. Like the *Mocoví*, they subsequently brought the bones to regular cemeteries located in the woods and distinguished by blazed trees. When a man perished far from home, his bones were transported back to his family burying ground. The bones of a chief were transferred with much pomp. Wrapped in a skin, they were carried under a canopy by six horsemen preceded by shamans mounted on splendidly trapped horses and by a troop of fully armed warriors. The bodies of warriors fallen in battle were also brought home with great ceremony and, arranged in a hut as if still alive, they were honored with funeral rites lasting 9 days.

Destruction of the property of the dead.—The *Mbayá*, *Abipón*, *Tereno*, *Lengua*, *Chorotí*, *Mataco*, *Toba*, *Lule*, *Vilela*, and probably all other Chaco tribes, set fire to the house and sometimes to the whole village where someone had died, and hurriedly abandoned the ghost-threatened place. The *Mbayá*, who had just completed a new house built under the supervision of Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 2:48), destroyed it soon afterward when one of them died there.

It was customary to destroy a dead man's property. The *Mbayá*, for instance, broke all his vessels and burned his mats and other property. The *Mbayá*, *Abipón*, and *Vilela* also slew the deceased's horse and left it by his grave. It is reported, though not confirmed, that the *Mbayá* killed the dead person's favorite slave.

Protection from the ghost.—*Lengua* mourners, fearful of the ghost, often sought the hospitality of some other band. These Indians believed that the chilly spirit of the departed man would return to his deserted camp looking for a fire. Lest the disappointed spirit cast cold ashes into the air and so bring bad luck upon the living, the ashes were always collected and buried before the village was abandoned. After burying a person, the *Lengua* drank hot water, washed themselves, and purified the air with a firebrand of palo santo, which they carried around the village.

Mourning rites.—The *Abipón* funeral laments seem to have been most spectacular. For 9 days all women, except the unmarried girls, gathered on the plaza with disheveled hair and, forming a long line, "leap like frogs and toss about their arms." They wailed to the sound of rattles and drums, trilling, quavering, and groaning at all pitches, and uttering shrill hisses. They chanted about the dead and clamored for vengeance. They were rewarded with a few gifts. At night a group of women met in a house where they shook rattles and, directed by a female shaman who alternately struck two large drums, sang funeral songs. There was hardly a moment when the village was not filled by these vociferous expressions of grief. On the 9th day the laments gave way to a festive chant.

At any time if women happened to remember a dead relative, they might suddenly drop their chores to wail. *Abipón* women turned their faces toward the deceased's grave and chanted and shook a rattle. Often they were joined by other women.

Among the *Abipón*, the closest female relatives of a dead man shaved their heads, and widowers cropped their hair with many ceremonies and wore a woolen cap (hair net) until it grew out again.

Abipón and *Mocoví* widows covered their heads with a net bag, like a hood, which they removed only when they remarried.

Mbayá mourners, male and female, cut their hair and observed a mourning period, the length of which depended on the status of the deceased. During this time, they lived on a vegetable diet, and laid aside all their ornaments and paints. If possible, they remained at home to wail freely or engage in quiet activities. At last, urged by their chief to forget the dead man and to decorate themselves as before, they resumed normal life.

The ritual wailing for the *Mbayá* dead was heard before dawn. Bereaved women sat on the ground and, facing the east and holding both arms stretched over their heads, swayed back and forth, crying and proclaiming the achievements of the deceased or, in the case of a child, his most insignificant actions (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1:27).

Among the *Tereno*, the widow and mother of the deceased mourned for a month. They cut their hair short, lacerated their breasts with sharp pieces of wood, and rubbed earth over their bodies. They sat naked in a corner of the hut, never raising their eyes from the ground, refusing to speak, and wailing at sunrise, midday, sunset, and midnight.

After the death of a *Guaná* chief, four women with disheveled hair walked around the village plaza wailing and chanting while a fifth stood among the others beating a small drum. At night a musician drew lugubrious sounds from a pipe or a trumpet (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 2:292).

Among the *Lengua*, the near relatives of the dead lived in isolation for a month, after which they purified themselves with hot water, and sang and danced around a fire. Boys dressed to represent dragonflies introduced a comic element into the feast by their antics and mimicry of these insects.

Mataco, *Pilagá*, and *Vilela* widows remain closeted in a dark corner of the hut or in a special compartment (pl. 69, *top*, *bottom*) for a varying period—*Mataco* from 6 to 12 months; *Pilagá* 3 or 4 months; and *Vilela* only 8 days. Widows shave their heads and cover them with a cloth. *Isistiné* mourners might not scratch their heads with their fingers. Among the *Mataco*, the closest female relatives of the dead abstained from various foods so long as water remained in the jar left by the corpse. Mourners often smear their faces with black paint. The *Chamacoco* obtain the same effect by not washing their faces for a period, the length of which depends on their relationship to the deceased. The *Lengua* trace black streaks under the eyes to represent tears.

Taboo on names and words.—The *Toba*, *Abipón*, *Mbayá*, *Tereno*, *Chamacoco*, and *Mataco* strictly taboo the name of a deceased person. To pronounce it was regarded by the *Abipón* as a willful insult which could lead to violence or even bloodshed. If the name of the dead person were a common word or phonetically resembled one, the term was dropped and an old woman invented a synonym. Dobrizhoffer (1783–84, 2:301) remarks that in the village where he lived the word for jaguar changed three times in 7 years.

The near relatives of the deceased or, if he were a chief, the members of the extended family, took a new name (*Vilela*, *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Mbayá*, *Lengua*, *Macá*, *Tereno*), hoping to deceive the ghost, who might have been tempted to return and to drag his fellow tribesmen with him to the afterworld (Azara, 1809, 2:153): Among modern *Tereno*, only children of the deceased change their names.

Commemorative rites.—The *Abipón* and *Mbayá* held commemorative ceremonies over the graves of their dead. The *Mbayá* renewed the mats which sheltered the sepulchers. When honoring the memory of the dead, the *Abipón* reenacted part of the funeral rites. *Tereno* women went to the cemeteries to sweep the tombs and to converse with their dead; as evidence of grief, they lamented and threw themselves on the graves.

Among the *Matará* of the lower Bermejo River, relatives celebrated a special feast on the first anniversary of a death. Each guest brought a dead rhea or, if other persons in the village honored their own dead at this time, they brought several. Young girls carried the rheas in a procession and presented them to the hosts. The favor had to be reciprocated in similar circumstances; remissness could cause a war; indeed, the debt contracted by a host was so sacred that if he died before repaying it, his heir had to fulfill the duty. The rites performed for the souls lasted 3 days, and were punctuated by outbursts of laments and tears. The ceremony ended with dancing and drinking.

Life after death.—Little is known about Chaco ideas concerning the afterlife of the soul. There is a general belief that ghosts linger around a camp and are dangerous, or at least unpleasant to meet. There are also vague beliefs regarding a Land of the Spirits. Some *Lengua* place it in the west and describe it as a true city in which the souls are grouped according to family or band relationships and continue their mundane occupations. The *Mataco* and some *Lengua* locate their afterworld beneath the earth, where the dead continue to live exactly as they did when alive. The *Toba* afterworld is a special heaven where the sun always shines and men and women make merry.

The *Mbayá* told Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 2:54) that the souls of the dead remained near their funerary abode and spent their time dancing and enjoying themselves without ever feeling tired. Some *Mataco* philosophers believe in metempsychosis: souls become successively ghosts, birds, spiders, and bats before they vanish forever.[47]

Notions of reward and punishment after death are foreign to Chaco Indians. The *Lengua*, however, did not like to leave this world without atoning for wrongs done to a fellow member of the band, lest the quarrel be continued in the hereafter.

The *Abipón* believed that certain ducks which uttered a shrill hiss were ghosts.

ESTHETIC AND RECREATIONAL ACTIVITIES

Art.—See Clothing, Tattooing, Painting, Pottery, Weaving, and figure 38.

Games and sports.—The favorite game of the Chaco Indians is a kind of hockey in which the men of one band are teamed against those of another (pl. 72). The play is decidedly aggressive, and the game is regarded by the Indians themselves as a substitute for open warfare.

The hockey stick is curved at the end, and the ball is of wood or, among the *Mbayá-Caduveo*, of plaited rope. The field is either a clearing in the bush some 100 yards (92 m.) long or a sandy beach near a river. The two goals are marked by heaps of branches. Rules are simple: The ball, which is hit from any direction, must touch the adversary's goal. The two teams agree beforehand upon the winning score. If they decide, for instance, to play for four points, a team must make a total of four scores to win. Each time the opponents score a goal, it is deleted from the score of the leading team. Interest in the game is stimulated by high gambling stakes, laid by the leaders and members of each team.

The game, lacking a referee, is at times rough, and several players are always injured. As a protection against the blows, the *Mataco* wear shin guards made of rows of sticks tied together with twine.

Both *Abipón* and *Mocoví* played a game like the North American snow-snake, which is described by Dobrizhoffer (1784, 2:58): The instrument is a round piece of wood about 3 palms (30 inches) long, thick at the extremities and slender in the middle. It is thrown forcibly at the mark "in such a manner that it strikes the ground every now and then, and rebounds . . . Fifty and often a hundred

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[47] According to a missionary (see Campana, 1913, p. 324), only the souls of those who are stabbed in a drinking bout in the afterworld are changed into a mosquito or a fly. When the fly dies it becomes an ant, which turns into a grass that finally dries up and reverts to earth.

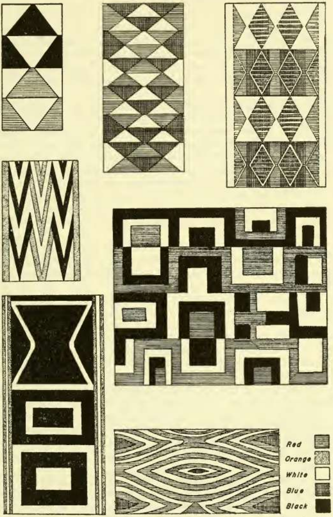
Red
Orange
White
Blue
Black

FIGURE 38.—Motifs on *Pilagá* belts and woolen bags. (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History.)

men stand in a row and throw this club by turns, and he who flings it the farthest and the straightest obains the prize or receives praises." (For the *Mocoví*, see Baucke, 1870, pp. 479–480.)

On the occasion of the visit of some other band, the *Mbayá* and *Mocoví* organized boxing matches. Among the *Mbayá* the competitors, most of them young men, marched toward the plaza in a line accompanied by an older coach, and sat facing their opponents. Older men, armed with spears, formed a wide circle around them. Then one of the young men, entirely naked, with jingles or peccary hoofs hanging from his wrists, walked around the ring. A member of the other group, responding to the challenge, rose and also walked around the plaza. The adversaries advanced toward each other, retreated and dodged "like fighting cocks"; finally, they exchanged violent blows until one of the two coaches came to separate them. Then new fighters took their place. When all of them had met their adversaries, they left the plaza in the same order as before.

In the boxing tournaments of the *Mocoví*, youths of different bands fought each other on moonlight nights. Children were trained in boxing from an early age, and were matched against the boys of other households in their own band.

Battles royal in which groups of women or men boxed with their own sex, were one of the main entertainments at the feasts celebrated by the *Payaguá*, *Mocoví*, *Mbayá*, and *Guaná*. Only *Payaguá* men and women joined in the same battle.

The *Mbayá* considered racing a test of virility. A formal race between young men was announced a day in advance by a young boy who beat a drum and chanted, shaking a gourd rattle. The competitors, painted and decorated with feathers, paraded around the village before the contest. To dispel fatigue after the race, they jabbed themselves with awls of jaguar bones. The vigor of their jabs added greatly to their prestige.

The *Mbayá*, like the *Araucanians*, adopted several Spanish sports along with the horse. For instance, a galloping horseman would try to thrust a sword through a ring hanging from a rope (peg-pulling). During feasts *Mbayá* warriors demonstrated how they attacked their enemies on horseback and how they chopped off their heads. At their meetings, the *Mocoví* organized horse races on which they laid heavy wagers.

Young people all over the Chaco are fond of a simple game in which a shuttlecock is kept in the air as long as possible by hand. The shuttlecock is made of maize leaves with a feather stuck in the middle. The winner is he who does not allow the shuttlecock to die (i. e., to fall) (*Mbayá*).

The *Mbayá* had a kind of ring-and-pin game which is described by Sánchez Labrador (1910–17, 2: 11) as a set of 56 or 60 rings connected by a string. These were thrown into the air and had to be caught on a stick. The players sat in a circle and each in turn tried his luck once. The same game is played by the *Chamacoco*. (See Baldus, 1931 a, p. 111.)

Mbayá girls and women played a game in which one of them, holding a pair of horns, pretended to be a deer and defended herself against harassing "hunters."

A popular *Mbayá* amusement at feasts was to toss a child in a blanket.

Gambling.—All Pilcomayo River Indians are rabid gamblers. Their favorite game is called tsuka or tsukok (from the *Quechua* chunka, "10"), which may be played by 2, 4, or 8 persons. A series of 21 holes called "houses" is made in the ground, the 11th hole being a "river" or "lake" and separating the field of the players. Small sticks, called "sheep," are placed in the holes as counters. Planoconvex or concavo-convex sticks with burned ornaments on the convex side are used as dice (fig. 39). A player taking 2 dice in each hand, throws them together, striking his left shoulder with his right hand or uttering a gutteral cry. If 4, 2, or no sticks fall with the convex side up, the scores are respectively 4, 2, or 1, but if an odd number has the convex side up, the player does not score and the opponent receives his turn. Each player moves an arrow forward according to his score, and, when he enters his adversary's field, captures the sheep in every hole he reaches. There is a penalty for falling in the "river." The game is won when someone captures all the sheep and the opponent's arrow. *Quechua* numerals are used to reckon the score, a convention which indicates beyond doubt the Andean origin of the game.

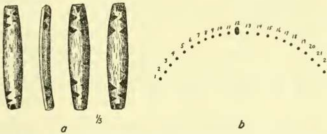

Figure 39.—Tsuka game, *Choroti*. *a*, Dice; *b*, arrangement of holes for game. (Redrawn from Rosen, 1924, figs. 172, 173.)

Children's games.—Children play a great many games, such as the following:

A "deer" killed by a "jaguar" is defended by "dogs" against the preying "vultures" (*Toba*).

A "jaguar" fights against pursuing "dogs" (*Toba*).

Imitating the noise of peccaries by striking together two pieces of wood, boys run after "dogs" or "hunters" (*Toba*).

Children form a long line holding each other around the waist. The leader carries a firebrand and tries to burn the last in line, while the line twists and turns in an attempt to save the threatened boy (*Toba*). A *Mbayá-Caduveo* variation of this game has been described, wherein the attacker has a straw club and is resisted by the leader of the line.

Children stand with widespread legs while one of them, pursued by a "hunter," tries to escape by crawling between his comrades' legs (*Caduveo*).

Children either hop or jump with their feet drawn together, turning in a circle or spiral until the line is broken.

Mataco girls in a line revolve in a spiral until they form a compact group. They represent a growing tree. A boy cuts down the "tree" by striking the girls on their legs. The group oscillates and then falls down.

A boy stands in the center of a circle of boys who lie on the ground and with their feet push him to and fro without allowing him to fall. The game symbolizes the "wasps" (*Mataco*).

Children in two lines form a tunnel through which a "skunk" passes at full speed. Everybody falls down asphyxiated, but the "skunk" reanimates his victims by blowing on their faces (*Mataco*).

A line of boys is attacked by a "serpent" that tries to bite off the last one. He renews his attacks until a single boy remains, who must kill the "serpent" (*Lengua*). The same game is played by the *Mataco*, who call it "purchase of a girl."

A "monkey," pursued by a "jaguar," climbs for refuge on the backs of his comrades, the "trees," who stoop in a long line. The "jaguar" may only pounce if he is exactly under the "monkey," and he may not jump over the line (*Lengua*).

To the tune of a song, little squatting girls jump up and down as long as they can without toppling over (*Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Mataco*). (Pl. 71, *bottom*, *right*.)

Boys form a line. One throws a stick and the others try to strike it with their sticks as it reaches the ground (*Chorotí*).

A boy throws his wooden "bolas" as far as he can; other children throw their own "bolas" at his so as to entangle it. The one who succeeds, keeps the "bolas" of his adversary (*Chorotí*, *Mataco*, *Toba*).

Toys.—In a list of children's toys, miniature weapons and implements come first. A favorite plaything is a "gun" consisting of a bamboo tube with a longitudinal slit into which a flexible bamboo strip is introduced as a spring to shoot pellets. Children also have many noise-producing objects, such as buzzers and bull-roarers.

Mataco, *Ashluslay*, and *Tereno* children are fond of stilt walking. They also roll hoops made of grass. All Chaco children are expert in making complicated string figures (cat's cradles). (Pl. 71.)

Everywhere dolls are made of the knuckle bones of animals to which two shell disks are glued to represent the eyes (fig. 40, *c*). Women also model dolls of unbaked clay, which represent people or, less frequently, animals. These are highly conventionalized; for instance, a "woman" is a conical clump of clay with two breasts and with the hair and the facial tattooing painstakingly indicated by engraved lines (fig. 40, *a*, *b*).

The *Caduveo* have wooden dolls which they identify with the Christian saints, but which seem not to pertain to a cult (pl. 65). Even though adult women have been observed speaking to these images, Boggiani (1895) and Frič (1913) regard them as mere toys.

Singing.—Chants give all magical rites their efficacy and the singing of a monotonous and endless melody is deemed sufficient to curb supernatural forces. Shamans are men who possess chants with mystic powers. Songs also accompany most recreational dances. Choirs are very much in evidence at drinking bouts and annual festivities. Little girls have a small repertoire of songs associated with their games.

Grubb (1904, pp. 95–96) says of *Lengua* singing:

> The men's voices are loud, rough, slightly tremulous, and not at all flexible. Baritone is the most usual male voice, the compass being "B" in the second space below the stave to "D" in the fourth line. The voices of the women are high-pitched.

Mataco and *Pilagá* songs are a succession of monotonous, deep chest tones followed by a series of pitch and volume changes. *Abipón* singers varied the tones according to the subject of the song. Expert singers "by a quicker motion of the throat, suspended the song for a while, now protracted it and now interrupted it with groans or laughter or imitations of a bellowing bull or of the tremulous voice of a kid."

If Dobrizhoffer is correct (1784, 2: 428–432), the *Abipón* declaimed epic "songs" during victory feasts, in which they enumerated in "a regulated number of verses" and with incredible detail, all their past military deeds. "By appropriate words and modulations of the voice" they expressed indignation, fear, threats, or joy. The *Mbayá* men would sing the praises of the chiefs. When a chief visited some colleague, courtesy required that a singer improvise a song in his honor extolling his courage, his skill as a ruler, and also the love his subjects bore him and the fear he inspired in his enemies.

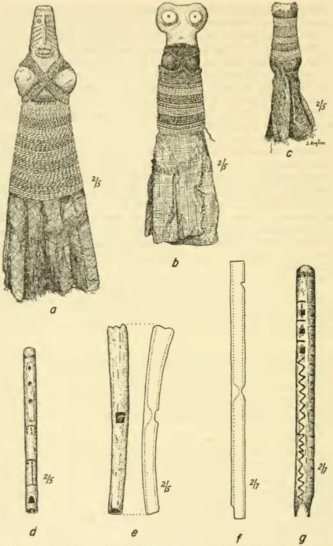

FIGURE 40.—Chaco toys and musical instruments. *a*, *b*, *Mataco* and *Pilagá* clay dolls (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History) ; *c*, *Pilagá* doll of cow knuckle ; *d*, *Choroti* reed flute (redrawn from Rosen, 1924, fig. 163) ; *e*, *Mataco* whistle of bird bone (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History) ; *f*, cross section of *Mataco* duct flute (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History) ; *g*, *Pilagá* notched flute (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History).

Of the "epic songs" of the *Mbayá-Caduveo*, Manizer (1934, p. 307) writes:

> They are in a dactylic form; the monotonous melody changes into a high-pitched and long drawn note.

The shamanistic chant of these Indians

> begins in a low tone which grows into pathos and vociferations. Then follow rhythmic sentences in which animal spirits are enumerated. They are continued by a high and prolonged falsetto which decreases harmoniously on a low tone which is prolonged until the chant dies off, but starts again on a high-pitched note. [Manizer, 1934, p. 308.]

Baldus (1931 a, p. 108) states that *Chamacoco* songs are melodies without words and often imitate the cries of animals or the sound of a storm. They are based on a 3-beat rhythm. When several persons sing simultaneously, each sings individually, unconcerned by what the others do. In addition, the *Chamacoco* have soloists who perform before audiences. Women neither sing nor chant, and the only music produced by them is a funeral lament with some rhythmic qualities.

The songs of the Pilcomayo River tribes have a series of meaningless syllables or only a few sentences, which are repeated to satiety. Cardiel (1915, p. 50) tells us that the *Lule* and *Isistiné* sang for a whole night a song consisting only of two words, "Peitolo yavali" (run into the valley). He quotes two *Paisan* songs with the following words, "The fox is coming," and "The shaman arrives, he is welcome." In solo songs to drive away bad spirits, the themes are somewhat longer than those of the feast songs and may change as many as four times (*Lengua*). (See Grubb, 1904, p. 97.)

During *Lengua* feasts, choirs relieve one another, so that the music never ceases.[48] Some *Pilagá* songs sung by women at parties are decidedly obscene. As songs pass from tribe to tribe, the Chaco repertoire is very uniform within large areas.

The importance of singing and chanting in Chaco societies is shown by some practices of the *Mataco*, *Pilagá*, and *Chamacoco*. To become a good singer, a *Mataco* or *Pilagá* man must dream of some singing bird—actually a spirit in the guise of a bird—and then eat the meat of birds reputed to be good singers. Many young men go to the bush in search of revelations of songs. A *Pilagá* may bequeath his song to his son, who sings it on special occasions, such as a scalp dance. Singing for days on end without stopping is for *Chamacoco* youths a test of manhood. The singer holds a gourd rattle and dances continuously until a flow of blood from a broken vein demonstrates that he has reached the limit of his strength. Fearing the hardship of the ordeal, some young men secretly pierce their gums to simulate a hemorrhage.

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[48] "The theme of every chant is short, and even the most joyous is in a minor key. The theme is repeated indefinitely; if it be a quick measure, it is kept up till the singers lose their breath; if it be slow, till they are tired, when, if the occasion be a feast, which may continue sometimes for days together, they are relieved by another choir of singers, so that the music may not cease" (Grubb, 1904, p. 96).

Musical instruments.—The only musical instruments native to the Chaco seem to have been a few idiophones (rattles and jingles) and the musical bow. The origin of the Chaco drums, flutes, and whistles must be sought in the Andean area.

Rattles.—Hoof rattles are fixed to the end of long poles which the women (*Mataco*, *Chorotí*, *Ashluslay*, *Toba*, *Pilagá*, *Lengua*) strike on the ground when dancing around a menstruating girl. When performing a cure, *Mataco* shamans wear jingles of deer hoofs or of snail shells around their waists or their ankles. Everywhere mothers amuse their babies with bunches of deer hoofs. Jingle rattles of fruit shells are found among the *Sanapaná* and *Chamacoco*, but are lacking in the southern tribes. From the Negroes of Matto Grosso, the *Mbayá-Caduveo* have acquired the timbrel rattle: metallic disks strung on a wire stretched between the limbs of a forked stick.

The gourd rattle is the accessory, par excellence, of the shaman, but its use is not his exclusive privilege. Every adult male among the *Toba* has a rattle which he shakes when he chants. *Chamacoco* women are forbidden to handle the sacred rattles. Most Chaco rattles are hollow gourds from which the seeds have been removed through a hole, which is then stopped with wax. The stem of the fruit forms the handle, and sometimes it is perforated and closed with a wooden peg to which a red wool loop is attached. The sides of rattles are often pierced with long cactus thorns (now nails or wires), which add a faint metallic quality to the sound—an improvement restricted in South America to the Chaco area. The *Mbayá-Caduveo* and *Chamacoco* rattle has the handle lashed to the gourd. Some *Chamacoco* rattles are made of two turtle shells fastened together with a string (Boggiani, 1894, fig. 33). Rattles, as a rule, are undecorated except for rudimentary incised or burned lines and some glued-on beads. The ancient *Kaskihá* painted theirs with red, black, and yellow streaks and trimmed them with seeds, feather tassels, and animal teeth (Cominges, 1892, p. 193).

Drums.—The Chaco drum is merely a cooking pot or sometimes a wooden mortar half filled with water and covered with a rawhide head. The drummer sits with his drum between his legs or, if he prefers to stand, lashes it between two upright digging sticks. He always uses a single stick (pl. 71). Some musicians accompany their beating with rhythmic body movements which make the jingles of their belts tinkle. Among the *Mbayá*, drummers held the stick in one hand and shook a gourd rattle with the other; they alternately struck the middle and the edge of the drum. Various traditional beats were distinguished by special names, such as the "beat of the wild vulture," or the "beat of the jaguar."

Bull-roarers.—The *Mbayá-Caduveo* have bull-roarers decorated with their characteristically involved designs. They are said to whirl them during funeral ceremonies, but, like the *Mataco*, they give them to the children as playthings. Children in most Chaco tribes make for their own amusement buzz-disks with pieces of calabash or potsherds.

Clarinets.—The clarinet, probably a post-Columbian instrument, was already popular in the Chaco in the 18th century. The *Abipón* were roused to battle by the sound of clarinets, and their war parties were said to have had more trumpeters than soldiers. The mouthpiece consists of a reed with a tongue cut in it, which nowadays is fitted into a sawed cow horn. Formerly, an armadillo tail (*Abipón*) or a gourd served as the bell. Baucke (1870, p. 221) refers to trumpets of light wood used by the *Mocoví.* When they performed a cure, *Payaguá* shamans blew into a calabash 2 feet (0.6 m.) long and open at both ends, which served as a rudimentary trumpet to modify the tone of the voice.[49]

Flat whistles.—Characteristic of Chaco culture are the flat wooden or resonator whistles which men suspend as ornaments from their necks (figs. 40, 41). These have the blowhole on the lower edge and two stops on the sides. One surface is invariably engraved with a starlike design within a circle and with a cogwheel motif around the edge. The *Chamacoco*, *Moro*, and *Mbayá-Caduveo* whistles are of the same type but larger and shaped differently. They are either rectangular or square with the upper and lower edges slightly concave. Many features of these resonator whistles seem to have had an Andean origin, though wooden whistles of this shape have never been found in Perú.

Serere whistles.—The serere whistle of the *Chiriguano*, a long diamond-shaped piece of wood perforated lengthwise, has been crudely copied by the *Mataco* and *Toba* who live in close contact with these Indians. The whistle is held vertically against the mouth so that the player may blow across the larger hole while closing the other with one finger.

Animal skull whistles.—*Mataco* and *Chorotí* make crude whistles of rodent skulls with all the orifices except the foramen magnum stopped with wax.

End flutes.—End flutes are comparatively rare in the Chaco. They are made of bamboo and provided with three rectangular stops, drilled on a planed surface, and a thumb hole. All the septa of the reed are removed.

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[49] "Aplica después la borda del agujero mayor entre la nariz y el labio superior de modo que la boca queda expedita en medio del agujero y habla fuerte como cantando, de forma que las voces suenan de un modo extraño y vivo" (Azara, 1904, p. 356).

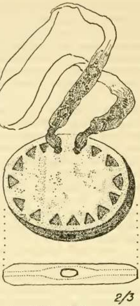

FIGURE 41.—*Pilagá* flat wooden whistle. (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History.)

Notched flutes.—Most Chaco flutes have notched blowholes and therefore may be called either notched flutes or, like their Andean prototypes, quenas (fig. 40, *d*, *g*). Izikowitz (1935, p. 314) distinguishes two types of quèna in the Chaco: that which is identical with end flutes with a notch added; and that which has "no planing or carving but has a stop for the little finger which may be placed either to the left or the right, evidently depending on which hand the musician holds nearest the distal end. It has six stops, the top one being placed at the middle of the flute."

Duct flute.—In their magical performances, *Mataco* and *Choroti* shamans use duct flutes (bird-bone whistles) without stops (Izikowitz' *Mataco* whistles (fig. 40, *e*, *f*.)). These instruments are so constructed that the air current blown at one end is directed by a deflector, in this case a wax plug, against the sharp edge of the sound orifice, which is located near one of the ends or toward the middle of the flute. Bone duct flutes are also known to the *Ashluslay*, *Lengua*, and *Chamacoco*, but there is no reference to their ceremonial usage in these tribes. The flutes of rhea bone of the ancient *Mbayá* probably belonged to the same category of instruments. Flutes of this type are occasionally made of bamboo or wood (*Mataco*, *Toba*). The *Chamacoco* hang a bunch of these flutes from their necks.

Plug flutes.—Both *Tereno* and *Mbayá-Caduveo* have reed flutes with a wax plug, four or five stops, a thumb hole, and an obliquely cut proximal end. Such instruments, typical of tropical South America, probably came to the northern Chaco with the new *Arawakan* invaders (Izikowitz, 1935, p. 354).

Panpipes.—The *Zamuco* in the *Chiquito* missions played the panpipes, which they certainly borrowed from the *Chiquito*.

Stringed instruments.—The musical bow is a favorite instrument of young men (*Mataco*, *Toba*, *Lengua*, *Guaná*), who spend many leisure hours playing it (pl. 71). It consists of two interlocked bows strung with horsehair. One bow is held against the teeth and the other used like a fiddle bow. The faint sound is audible only to the player. The *Mbayá-Caduveo* make guitars and violins, the parts of which they paste together with a glue extracted from an orchid bulb.

Dancing.—A characteristic aspect of Chaco culture is the importance attached to dancing. During seasons of abundant food and favorable weather, young people dance every night from sunset to dawn. Such dances are mainly recreational. On particular occasions, dances have ceremonial value; these are described in the section dealing with religion.

The principal diversion of young men of the Pilcomayo and Bermejo River villages is a dance in which the participants, dressed in their best attire, form a circle, each embracing his neighbor's waist. One dancer starts a low chant and everybody stamps the ground rhythmically with the right foot. After a few notes, the other dancers begin to sing. The rhythm grows livelier until the stamping turns into a rapid walk. Soon the girls, at first passive on-lookers, participate. Each places herself behind some favorite dancer and, seizing his belt or putting her hands on his shoulders, dances with him. Several girls may attach themselves to a popular man.

In another type of dance, men and women hold one another's shoulders or waists and form a long line. As the dancers move forward and backward, the dance leader standing out in front points at a dancer at each end of the line, who steps out and forms a new line behind him. This is repeated endlessly.

In the *Toba* nomi dance, men form a semicircle with their arms on each other's waists. They run alternately to the right and left while moving forward across the dancing place, where the chain of performers is broken. Then in the same way they move back. The dancers themselves loudly chant the measure of their steps.

The *Mataco* perform a unique variant of this dance: Once the semicircle has started moving forward, it breaks up suddenly into several groups of dancers, who first stamp in the same spot, then start to run, and form a spiral which grows tighter and tighter. When all movement, except stamping, is impossible, the spiral begins to unwind, at first very slowly, then more quickly.

In a purely recreational dance of the *Mataco*, the dancers form a line and slowly start to move forward; at the same time the man in the center of the line whirls around, pivoting the line so that those at the ends of the line run faster than the others.

In the *Lengua* kyaiya dance, a man in the circle of dancers keeps pointing to the four cardinal points. Held in the spring, it is a rejoicing in anticipation of the new food supplies; in the summer, it is a thanksgiving for the algarroba bean harvest; in the autumn, it celebrates the harvest of the main garden crops (Grubb, 1913, p. 178).

The *Caduveo* have a dance, based on a pattern of four steps, in which young men and girls, each holding his neighbor's waist or hand, form separate lines and move forward and backward to the music of flutes and drums. Now and then the men break their line to revolve around the girls, or pairs execute a series of turns. The pattern of steps is always the same: two slow steps and a rapid, jerky one forward, and then a return to the initial position. The body is bent forward slightly, but is thrown backward on the third beat. The dance is apparently recreational in nature, but a ceremonial origin may be inferred from the presence of masked figures, some probably impersonating ghosts and others playing the part of clowns.

At formal receptions, *Mbayá-Caduvéo* women honor their guests with songs and dances consisting of a succession of short steps while the body sways and the hands move.

Some *Tereno* dances are really parades before the chiefs, whom men and women salute while marching by. The homage is repeated several times with variations.

Certain women's dances of the *Guarañoca*, a *Zamuco* subtribe, dramatize such economic activities as sowing or collecting pavi fruits or such commonplace incidents as the chase of an ant which has bitten a person (D'Orbigny, 1835–47, 2: 637–638).

Among dance accessories were the tufts of red feathers which *Pilagá* and *Mbayá* dancers brandished.

Tobacco.—Chaco Indians smoke far more than any other South American natives. They are ready to trade their most prized possessions for strong, black tobacco, lack of which is deemed a painful privation. Even with little agriculture, Indians such as the *Pilagá* grow tobacco. The *Mbayá* horsemen, who were passionate smokers, were supplied tobacco by their *Guaná* serfs, who raised several varieties of it.

Tobacco leaves are inserted in a split stick, dried over a fire, and crushed into a coarse powder. The ancient *Mbayá*, like modern *Lengua*,[50] pounded the leaves in a mortar and kneaded the mass into small cakes that were exposed to the sun or to fire. When the tobacco had turned black, it was minced, crushed, and left for a time in the sun (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 1: 184). These Indians stored their tobacco in artistically engraved gourds; modern natives carry it in embroidered skin pouches.

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[50] Grubb (1913, p. 73) adds the following details about the *Lengua:* "The pulp is then made into small round cakes, moistened with saliva and pressed between the hands. They are not allowed to bake in the sun until quite hard. A hole is made in the centre of each cake, and several are strung together for convenience."

Pipes.—The *Choroti* used crude pipes made of a bamboo section, but these are exceedingly rare. As a rule, Chaco pipes are carved of wood—among the *Mbayá* and other northern groups, of palisander wood, which exhales a pleasant odor when hot. Clay pipes, both tubular and curved, occur in various tribes (*Mataco*, *Pilagá*, *Lengua*), but they are quite uncommon today (fig. 42, *c*). They may have been more popular before steel tools simplified the carver's task. In fact, the *Lengua* word for "pipe" means also "clay."

Several types of pipes may be used by a single group. Thus, the Pilcomayo River Indians have tubular (fig. 42, *e*), elbow, monitor, and composite pipes (i. e., with a stem fitted into a bowl). The composite pipe seems to predominate among the *Mbayá-Caduvéo* and other northern tribes.

Tubular pipes are drilled at one end for a bowl from which a perforation runs to the mouth end and are often decorated with a flange at both ends. Some specimens are constricted in the middle; those of the *Mataco*, *Toba*, and *Ashluslay* flare characteristically into a flat, wide mouthpiece (fig. 42, *g*.)

Some pipes have the bowl set somewhat back from the distal end and resemble the monitor pipes of North America.

Elbow (fig. 42, *d*) and composite pipes may be imitations of the European form; the bowl of the composite type is often the traditional tubular pipe fitted with a stem.

Pipes are often decorated with raised flanges or with incised or fire-engraved designs, but their main esthetic value is their elegant shape and their polish (fig. 42, *a*, *b*, *f–h*).

The bowls of the *Mbayá-Caduveo* pipes carved as human figures and the *Ashluslay* pipes shaped like animals may be regarded as the best wood carvings in the Chaco. The ancient *Mocoví* had also zoomorphic pipes (Kobler, 1870, p. 221). The long tubular pipes of *Payaguá* shamans were covered with engraved biblical scenes, mainly of Paradise and the story of Adam and Eve. (See Steinen, 1901 a; Koch-Grünberg, 1903 b; Outes, 1915.)

The Pilcomayo River Indians plug their pipes with a fiber or moss filter. A few specimens have the mouthpiece covered with a small perforated calabash disk.

The Indians inhale and blow the smoke out through their noses. After a few puffs, they pass the pipe around to their companions.

Chewing.—Among the southern *Guaicurú* (*Abipón*, *Mocoví*), both sexes were fond of chewing tobacco. Among the northern tribes (*Mbayá*, *Payaguá*), only the women chewed; they are said to have kept their quid constantly between their lips and gums. Chopped tobacco leaves for chewing were impregnated with saliva and mixed with bone ashes (*Mbayá*, *Mocoví*) or with salt (*Abipón*, *Mocoví*).

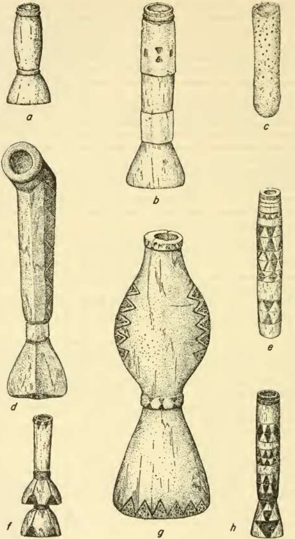

FIGURE 42.—Chaco tobacco pipes. *a, b, d, f, g, Pilagá* wooden pipes; *c, Mataco* clay pipe; *e, h, Mataco* fire-engraved wooden pipes. (All ⅔ natural size.) (Métraux collection, American Museum of Natural History.)

The *Mocoví* carried their tobacco in a cow horn attached to their cloak.

As a substitute for tobacco, the *Toba* and *Chunupí* chewed or smoked a root called koro-pa.

Coca chewing.—Many Chaco Indians who work in the sugar factories have acquired the habit of chewing coca from the *Quechua*, a habit which has spread in recent years almost to the Paraguay River.

Drinking bouts.—Any social event is a pretext for a drinking bout. Among the *Abipón*, the occasions for a spree were a victory, an impending war, funeral rites, the birth of a chief's son, the shaving of widowers or widows, the changing of a name, the proclamation of a new captain, the arrival of a distinguished guest, a wedding, and, most commonly, a council of war. These are still the occasions on which other Chaco tribes get drunk. The biggest sprees among the Pilcomayo River Indians, however, take place from November to February when algarroba is ripe.

The *Mbayá* rationalized their orgies by saying that when drunk they dreamed of beautiful things. The *Abipón* contended that "they were never more wise in council or braver in fight than when they were intoxicated." The *Mascoi* ascribed to fermented drinks the power to give men supernatural clear-sightedness. The *Chamacoco* show great respect for a drunken man, believing him to be possessed by a spirit.

The native beer is brewed of algarroba pods, or, when these are not available, of tusca or chañar fruits. The *Mataco* and *Chorotí* are said to prepare a beverage of melon or watermelon.

All Chaco Indians are extremely fond of mead, but, though honey is perennially available, it is rarely collected in sufficient quantity to satisfy a large group of guests.

The algarroba pods are pounded in a mortar and mixed with hot water in a hollowed bottle tree or an improvised container made of a squared cow or goat skin with the edges raised off the ground (*Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Chorotí*). Sometimes, to accelerate fermentation, a small quantity of pounded algarroba which has been chewed by old women is added. Tusca beer is prepared of the crushed fruits sprinkled with water. Chañar fruits are boiled, and the juice is left to ferment. Mead is prepared of honey and water mixed in a large, narrow-necked calabash, and heated in the sun or by a fire.

The *Mbayá* drank the slightly fermented sap of the mbocayá palm (*Acrocomia* sp.). Sometimes they allowed the mush made of the fruits of this palm to ferment, but this beverage was hardly alcoholic.

Men sing, shake deer-hoof or gourd rattles, and drum all night around the beer trough to hasten the fermentation magically and make the beverage really strong. These rites are deemed as important to the preparation of the beer as the mechanical activities.

No young women are allowed to participate in a drinking bout, but old women attend to look after the men and sometimes to dance or chant.

In all tribes certain rules of etiquette are scrupulously observed. The participants paint and decorate themselves profusely. The most distinguished guests are always served first. The *Mbayá* sat in a circle and were served by a hostess. Women rushed toward those who vomited to hand them a vessel. A drummer, generally a young man in his best attire, chanted the virtues of the guests, while other men blew clarinets (see p. 343), or sounded whistles to encourage the guests to drink. When the drinks were exhausted at one house, musicians urged the crowd to move to the house of another nobleman where beer or mead had also been prepared. Probably to avoid any quarrel, it was regarded as unwise to refuse anything asked by a drunken man.

The *Ashluslay* wave their hands at those who drink, and anyone leaving the party has to make a friendly gesture with the hand. A well-bred *Pilagá* only drinks half of the calabash handed to him and passes the rest to his neighbor.

The carousal lasts as long as the beer—sometimes for several days. The intoxicated *Ashluslay* or *Pilagá* sing, whistle, and deliver long speeches boasting of their courage and achievements. Very frequently those who nurture a secret grudge take advantage of the general excitement to give vent to their repressed resentment. Insults and threats are exchanged and fights start which, however, rarely end in casualties, thanks to the vigilance of the women, who see to it that no weapons fall into the men's hands and promptly intervene to prevent a verbal quarrel from degenerating into a dangerous brawl. When a man becomes obnoxious, his relatives take him to their hut, where he sleeps it off. The *Mbayá* and other tribes cure their hang-overs by chewing the bark of certain trees. Sorcerers are likely to take advantage of a drinking party to "poison" their enemies.

RELIGION

Supernatural beings.—Missionaries have always failed to find the concept of a Supreme Being in the religion of the Chaco Indians. Peritnalik, Asin, and the bird Carancho (*Polyborus plancus*) are mythic culture heroes, but certainly not deities. The Beetle (escarabajo), who, according to the *Lengua*, made the Universe and peopled it with spirits and men, remains aloof from his creation and is never invoked. The only mythological character who approximates a supreme god is Eschetewuarha of the *Chamacoco*. She is the mother of countless spirits (guarã); she dominates everything, and makes sure that the Sun does not burn the earth and that mankind obtains water. She expects men to sing every night for her and punishes them if they are remiss in this duty.

Some Chaco tribes personify celestial bodies or natural phenomena, and consider them to be helpful or dangerous, but there is no evidence that regular cults are rendered to them. The *Abipón* and *Mocoví* referred to the Pleiades as if this star cluster were a living being, and called it "Our Grandfather." They attributed the stars' annual disappearance to illness, and rejoiced when they returned. They even congratulated them as if they were actually men, but the feast which followed their rise above the horizon cannot be construed as a formal astral cult. Prado (1839, p. 35) says expressly that the *Mbayá* celebrated the appearance of the Pleiades not because they held them to be a deity, but only because they announced the season of the mbocayá nuts. The *Payaguá*[51] and *Tereno* regarded the return of the Pleiades as a signal for the performance of magic rites and for various festivities.

When the new moon shone in the sky, the *Mbayá*, the *Toba*, and *Mocoví* showed signs of great contentment, which has been erroneously interpreted as expressions of a lunar cult. The *Mocoví*, however, asked the new Moon for physical strength, and young men pulled their noses to improve their shape. The *Mbayá* also saluted the Morning Star, saying, "Here comes our master," an expression void of any deep significance. The *Mataco* shamans speak of the Sun as a wise man whom they like to consult in spite of the many dangers of doing so. The *Tumerehã* believe that the Sun is a powerful demon who sends diseases and who selects those whom he wishes to become shamans.

The *Mataco* attribute menstruation to the young girl's mysterious intercourse with the Moon. *Lengua* girls asked Lightning for a husband. In *Pilagá* myths, Rainbow kidnaps children and kills people by moving his tongue all around his head. Lightning is a little hairy woman or man who needs smoke to return to the sky (*Toba*, *Pilagá*). The *Abipón* and the *Lengua* looked at the whirlwinds as the manifestations of a spirit. The former threw ashes, the latter sticks, to drive them away. The *Mataco* also personify the Big Fire that burns at the end of the world.

Epidemics are generally thought to be caused by demons. The smallpox demon lives in the mountains and has a face covered with small pits (*Mataco*). The *Lengua* greatly fear the White demon of the swamps or lagoons, who supposedly sails over the waters. The forests and rivers are haunted by special demons (the Water-dwellers of the *Pilagá*); their meetings with human beings are related in many tales. The forest demons (Guarã) of the *Tumerehã* have some features of dogs, which they derive from their father, a mythical dog who mated with a woman.

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[51] "La superstición con las Pleyadas no es más que ser época de una festividad bacanal en los primeros dias de su aparición vespertina y nos consta sucede lo propio entre los Bayas y otros indios" (Aguirre, 1911, p. 357).

Some animals have a Master, a spirit who prevents their wholesale destruction by hunters. For example, the Master-of-the-fish is angered, according to the *Pilagá*, when fish are caught and then left to rot.

In addition to these demons, the Indian's world is crowded with unpersonified spirits which are either goblins or ghosts. It has been said that any object or animal which inspires fear or awe in a Chaco Indian is the receptacle of an evil spirit. Such a view is based on arbitrary interpretation rather than on actual statements by the natives. In *Toba*, payak means a spirit, but the word is applied as an adjective to all kinds of phenomena and animals which appear strange, mysterious, supernatural or uncanny, and does not necessarily imply that the payak object or being is actually possessed by a spirit. Thus, whirlwinds, black beetles, and the objects that a shaman extracts from the body of a patient are all payak.

The *Mataco* distinguish between the husek, which is the soul of a person, and the ãhat, or ghost. The souls of the dead are greatly feared, but no more than spirits, such as the Inhabitants of the Earth and the welan who reside in trees, especially the large bottle trees. Among the *Mataco-Nocten* of Bolivia, aitax seems to have had the same meaning as payak in *Toba*, if Karsten's definition (1932, p. 119) is correct.

Chaco Indians do not actually live in the constant fear of spirits that some authors have ascribed to them. They admit that spirits and ghosts are especially obnoxious at night, and are ready to interpret any queer noise as evidence of the presence of a spirit; but during the day they show little concern, unless something strongly suggests supernatural interference. Above all, spirits bring illness. Any community in which a death has occurred is exposed to attack by the ghost of the deceased. A hunter must take precautions to prevent revenge by the slain animal's spirit. For this reason, a man who has killed a bird, plucks its neck feathers and scatters them on the road, hoping that while the bird's spirit is collecting the feathers, he can reach home safely.

The *Lengua* believe in a spirit, called Hakumyi, who now and then helps men in their gardening. They also speak of another spirit that is harmless but has thievish proclivities.

A spirit is deemed good only when it is at the service of a shaman or of a man who has had a vision. Only a person who has established personal contact with a spirit may rely upon its help. A sick *Toba* may say to his familiar or guardian spirit, "Let no more evil befall

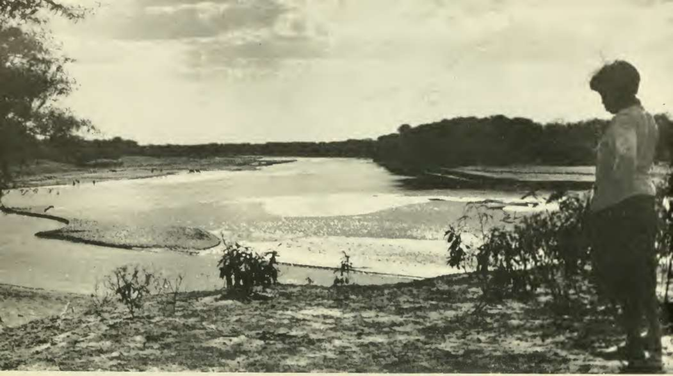


PLATE 15.—**Chaco landscape.** Bermejo River, near Algarrobal. Salta, Argentina. (Courtesy Mann.)

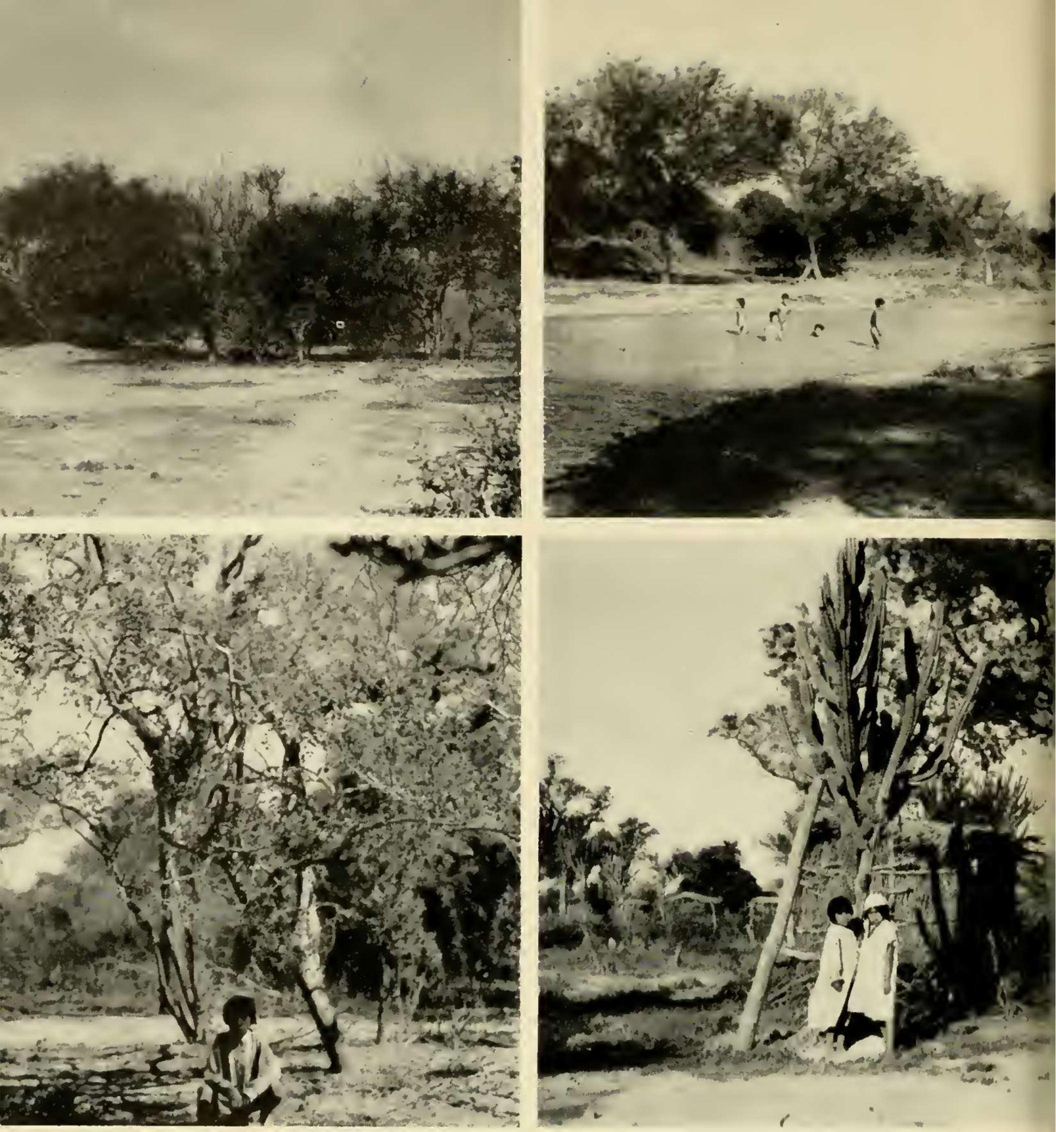


PLATE 46.—**Chaco landscapes.** *Top (left):* Xerophytic forest (monte ralo) near San Patricio, Salta, Argentina. *Top (right): Mataco* children bathing. *Bottom (left):* Xerophytic forest. *Bottom (right): Mataco* granary, San Patricio. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

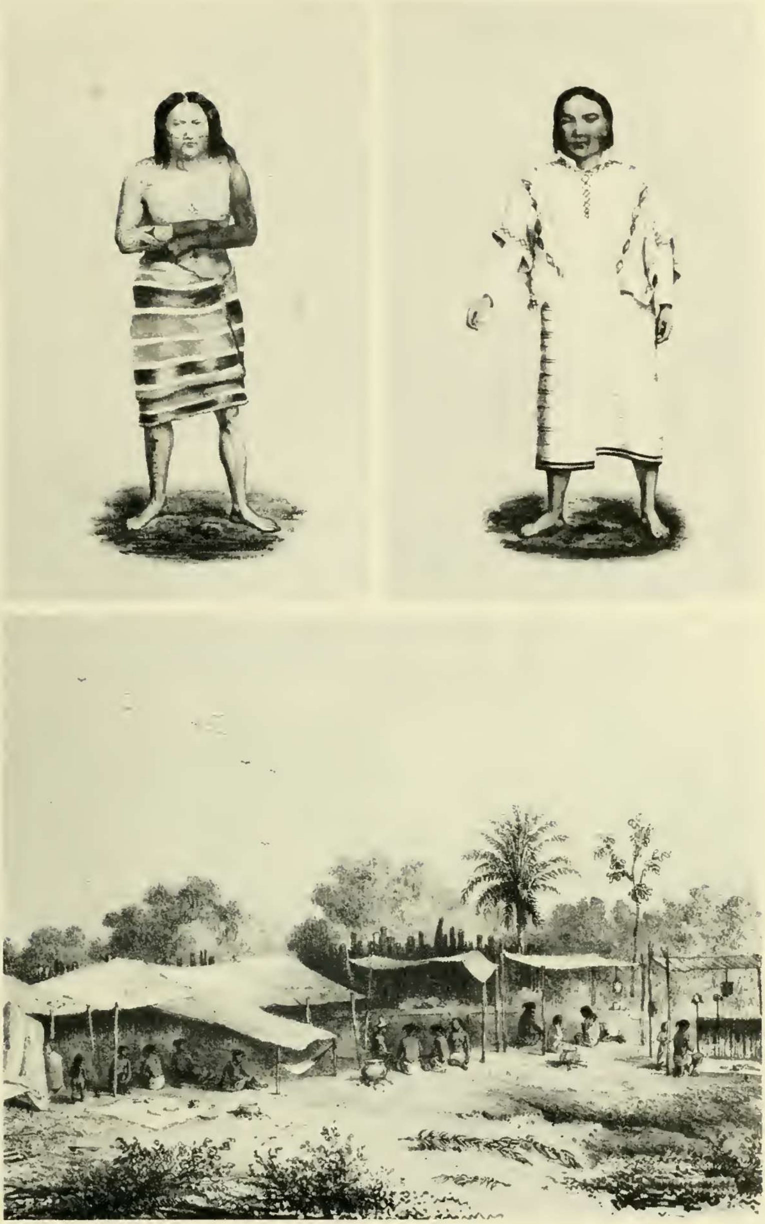


PLATE 47.—**Chaco Indians, 19th century.** *Top (left): Mbayá* man. *Top (right): Tereno* man. *Bottom. Mbayá* camp, Albuquerque, Matto Grosso, Brazil. (After Castelnau, 1852, pls. 37, 38, 53.)

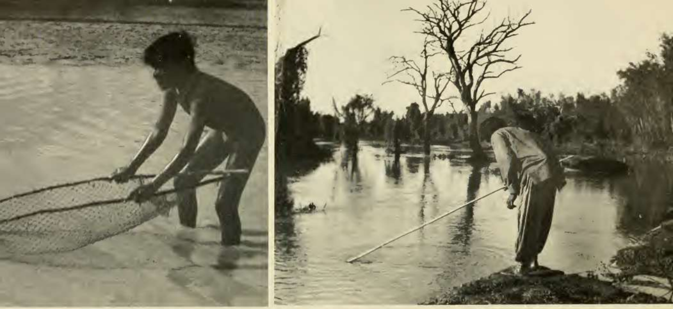
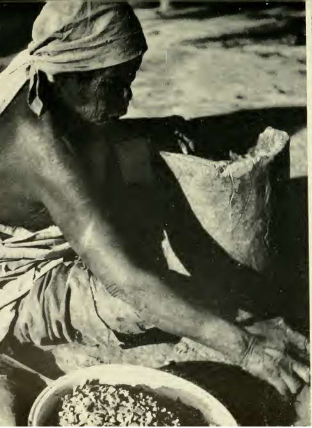


Plate 48.—**Chaco fishing techniques.** *Left: Pilagá* man with dip net. *Right: Toba* man with spear. Río Pilcomayo, Formosa, Argentina. (Courtesy Mann.



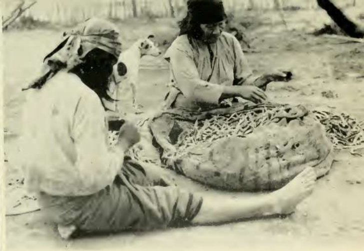


PLATE 49.—**Chaco women preparing algarroba.** *Left: Pilagá* crushing the pods in wooden mortar. (Courtesy Mann.) *Right: Pilagá* sorting the pods. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

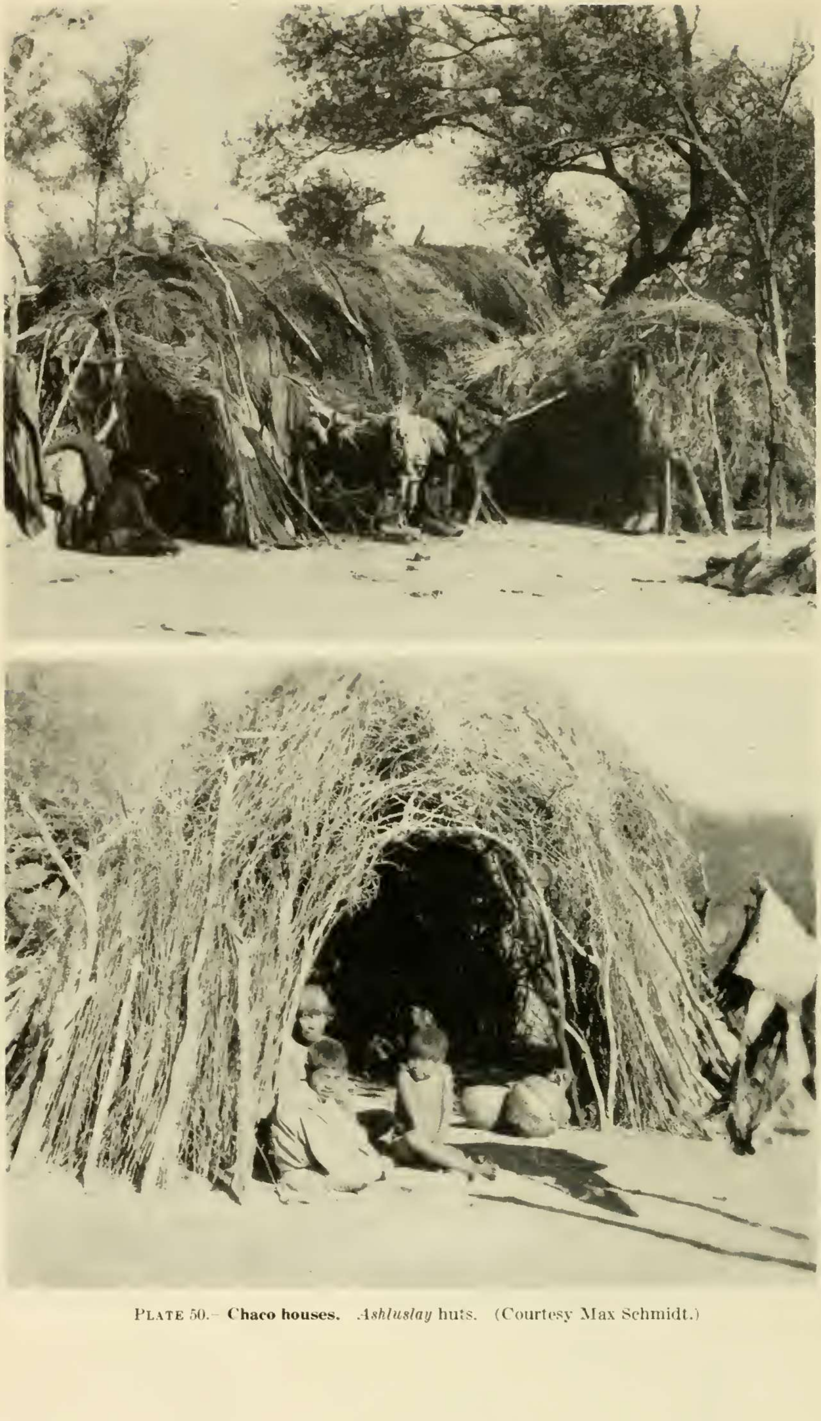


PLATE 50.—**Chaco houses.** *Ashluslay* huts. (Courtesy Max Schmidt.)

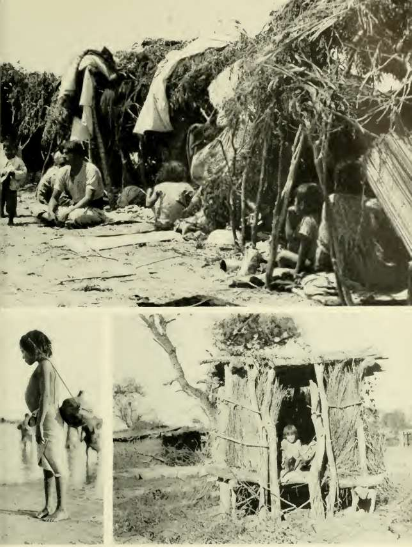


PLATE 51.—**Chaco houses, granaries, and water carrying.** *Top: Pilagá* village. (Courtesy Mann.) *Bottom (left): Pilagá* girl carrying water jar by tumpline. *Bottom (right): Mataco* or *Pilagá* granary. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

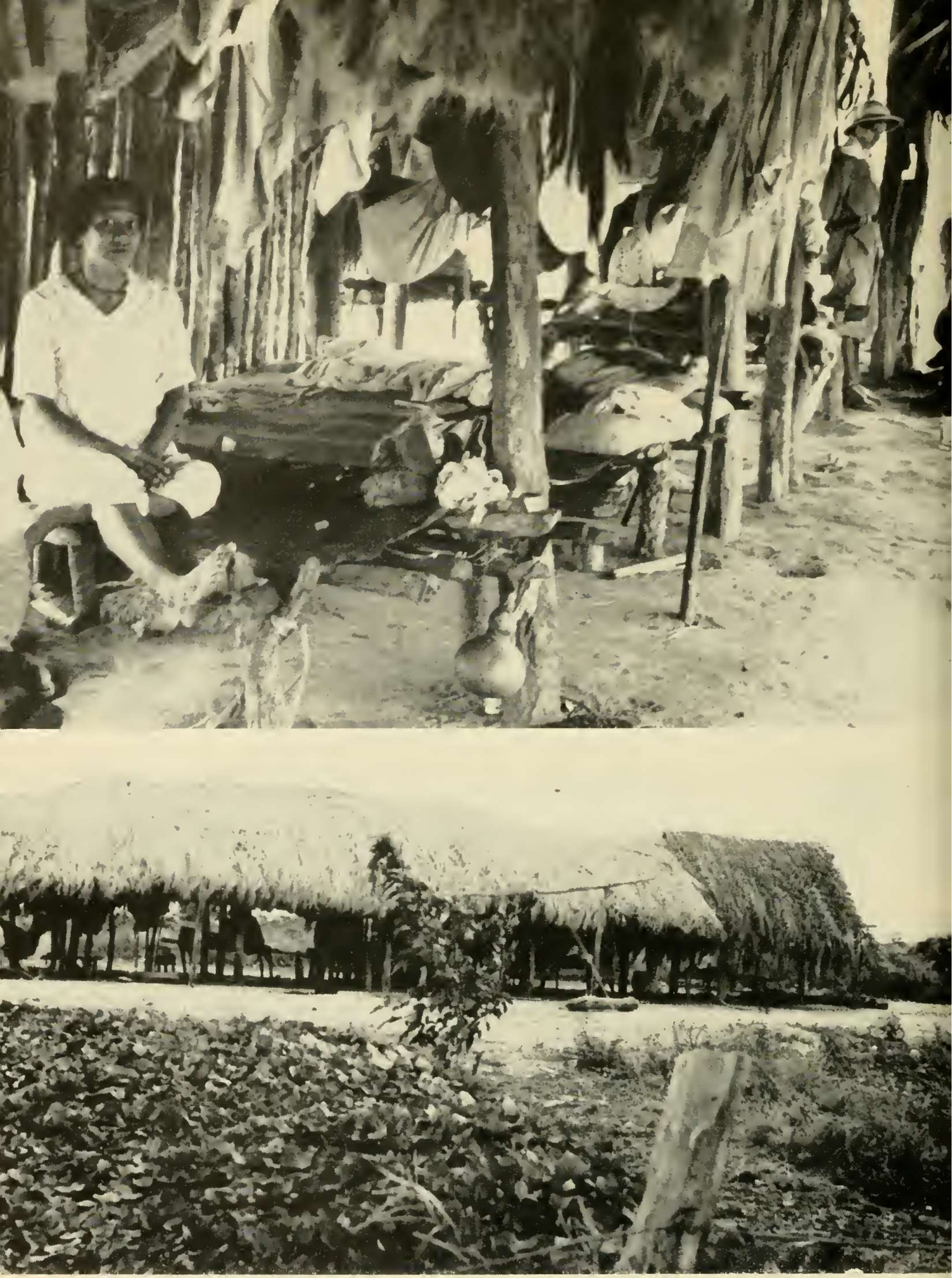


PLATE 52.—**Chaco houses.** *Top:* Interior of *Mbayá* hut with sleeping platforms. Village of Nalike. *Bottom:* Palm-thatched *Mbayá* communal houses, Nalike. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

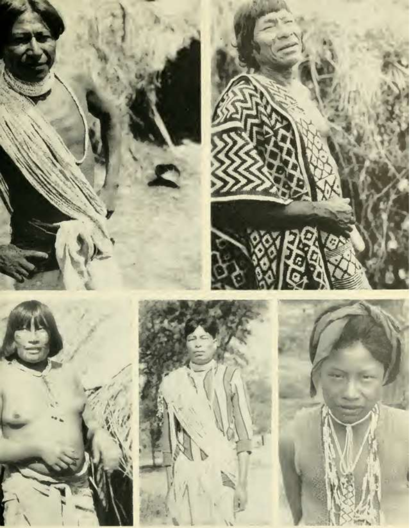


PLATE 53.—**Chaco costumes.** *Top (left): Ashluslay* man with shell necklaces. *Top (right): Ashluslay* man wearing a poncho. *Bottom (left): Ashluslay* woman with wrap-around skirt. *Bottom (center): Pilagá* man with shell necklaces. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.) *Bottom (right): Pilagá* child wearing necklace of glass beads and netted shirt. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

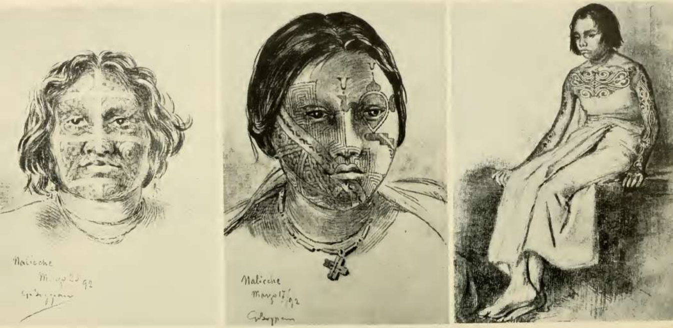

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PLATE 54.—**Caduveo facial and body painting.** (After Boggiani, 1895 figs. 43 74 90.

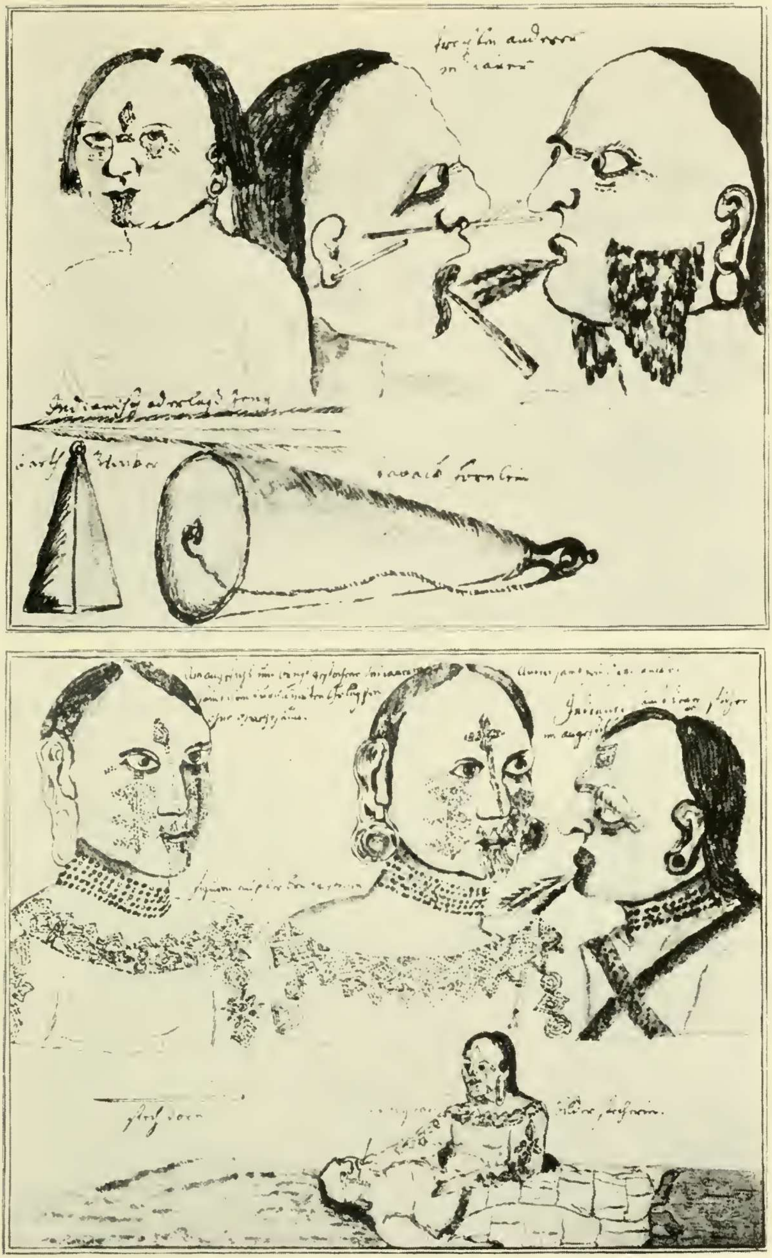

PLATE 55. **Chaco face and body ornaments.** *Top: Mocoví* chin ornament (tobacco horn below). *Bottom: Mocoví* tattooed designs and woman tattooing a man. (After Baucke, 1935, figs. 10, 11.)

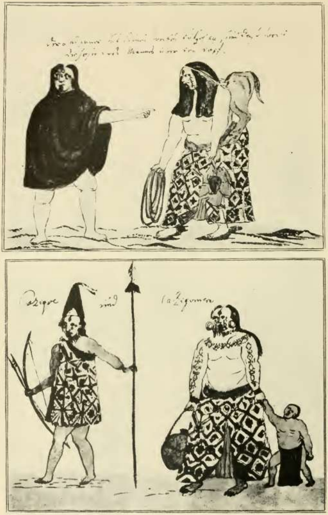
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PLATE 56.—**Chaco costumes.** *Top: Mocovi* hunter with *Guaicurú*-type tonsure. *Bottom: Guaicurú* warriors with tattoo and wearing painted skin robes. Note tattooing. (After Baucke, 1935, figs. 13, 14.)

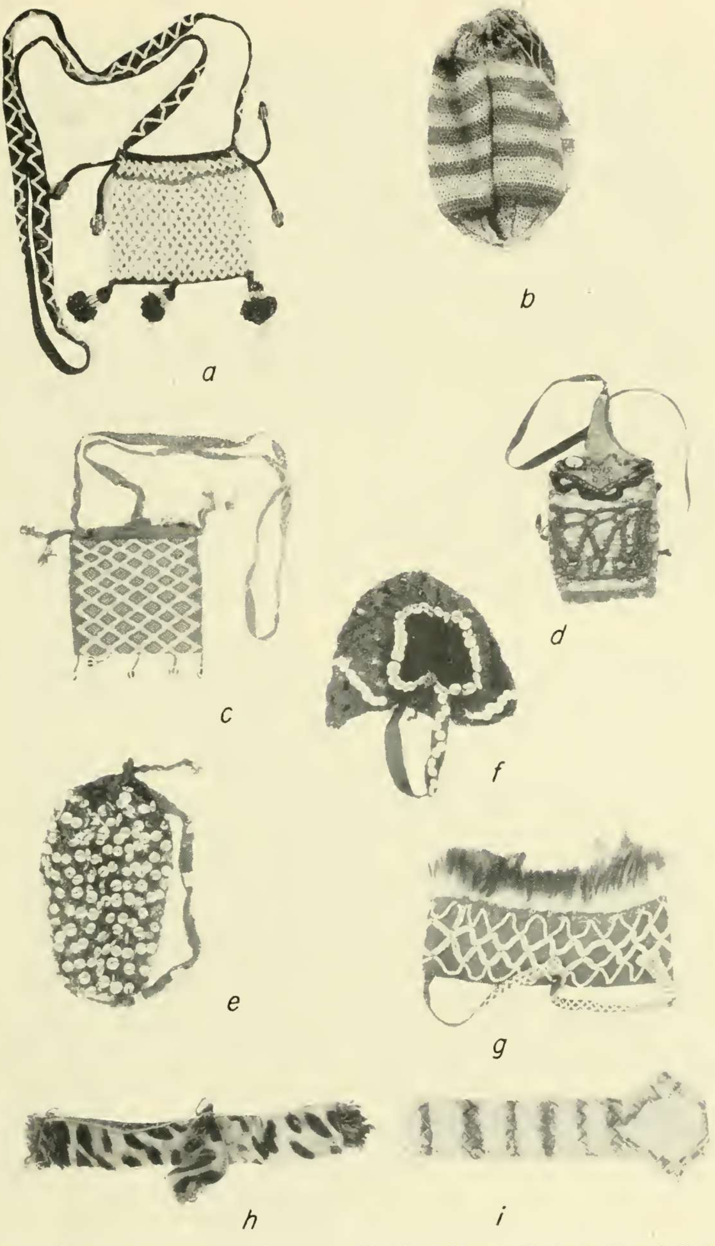


PLATE 57.—**Chaco head ornaments and bags.** *a, c, Pilagá* beaded bag; *b, Pilagá* netted bag; *d, Chulupí* or *Ashluslay* iguana-skin pouch; *e, f, Pilagá* hair nets decorated with shell disks; *g, Pilagá* frontlet with flamingo feathers; *h, Mataco* jaguar-skin frontlet; *i, Pilagá* child's frontlet of plaited palm leaves. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

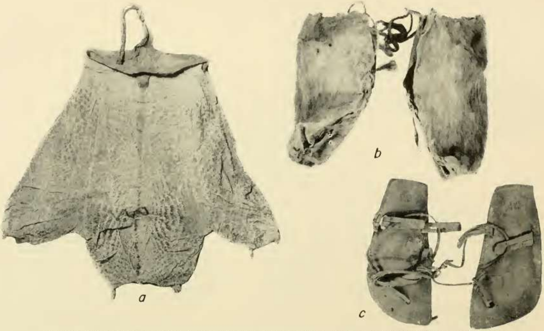


PLATE 58.—**Pilagá footgear and skin bag.** *a*, Rhea-skin bag; *b*, moccasins; *c*, sandals. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

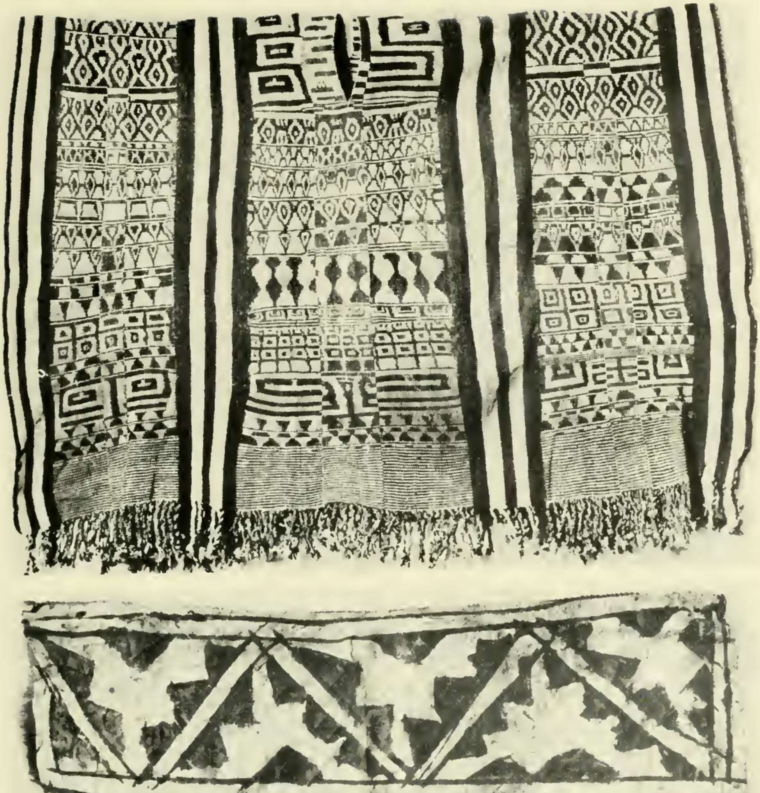


PLATE 59.—**Chaco costumes.** *Top: Ashluslay* poncho. *Bottom: Pilagá* painted deer-hide skirt. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

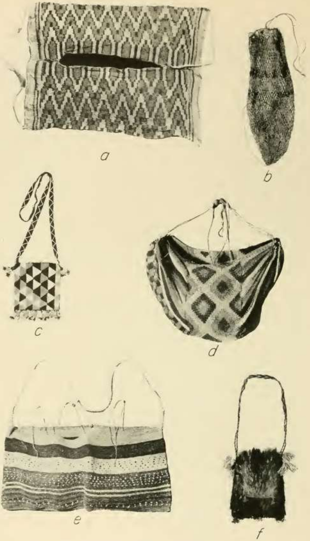


PLATE 60.—**Chaco bags.** *a*, *Mataco* looped carrying bag; *b*, *Pilagá* netted bag for removing fuzz from cactus fruit; *c*, *Pilagá* finger-woven woolen pouch; *d*, *Pilaga* looped bag; *e*, *Pilaga* macramélike bag decorated with glass beads; *f*, *Pilagá* bird-skin bag. (Courtesy American Museum of Natural History.)

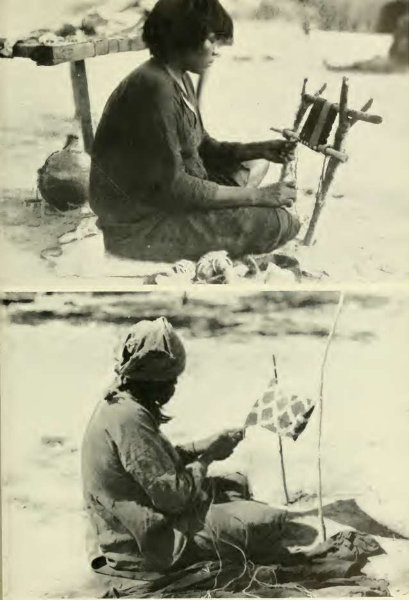


PLATE 61.—**Chaco textile manufacture.** *Top: Toba* small loom for finger weaving. *Bottom: Mataco* knitting a bag. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

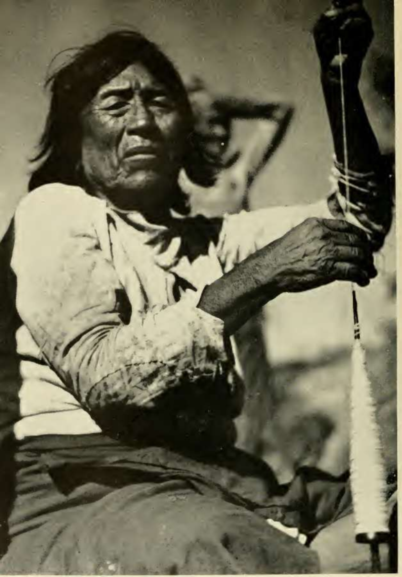


PLATE 62.—**Toba spinning wool.** (Courtesy Mann.)

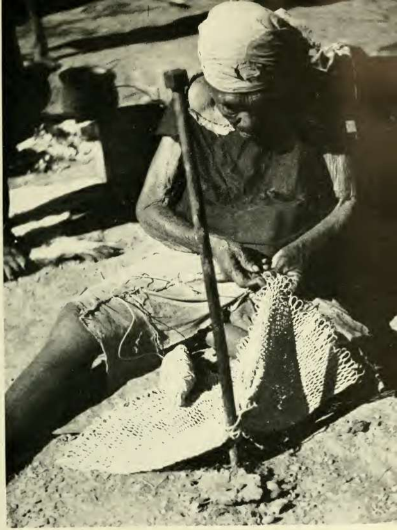


PLATE 63.—**Toba woman making carrying net.** (Courtesy Mann.)

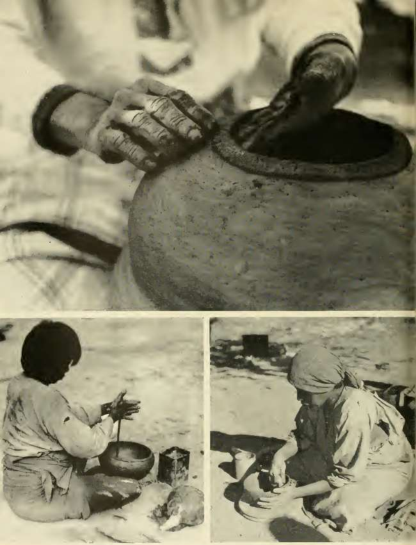


PLATE 64.—**Chaco pottery manufacture.** *Top:* *Toba* making rim strip. (Courtesy Mann.) *Bottom (left):* *Pilagá* woman forming coil. *Bottom (right):* *Mataco* woman scraping inside of pot. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

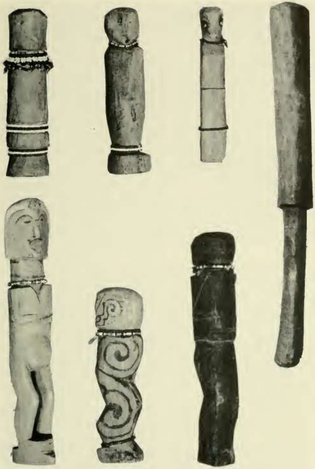


PLATE 65.—**Chaco wood carving.** *Chamacoco* wooden figurines and throwing club (at right). (Courtesy Museo Etnográfico, Buenos Aires.)

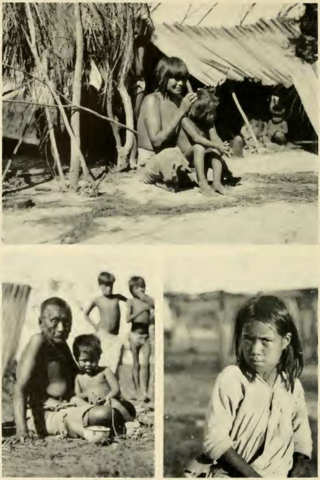
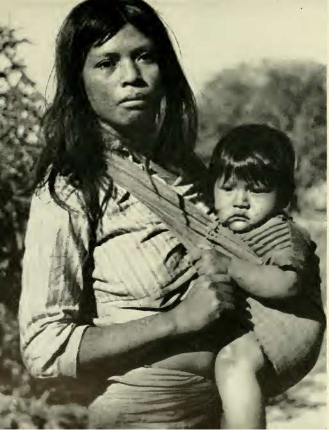


PLATE 66.—**Chaco children.** *Top:* *Pilagá* delousing child. *Bottom* (*left*): *Pilagá* grandmother and child. *Bottom* (*right*): *Mataco* girl. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)



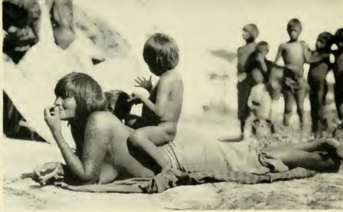


PLATE 67. **Chaco children.** *Left: Mataco* mother carrying child in sling. (Courtesy Mann.) *Right: Pilagá* mother and child in characteristic pose. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

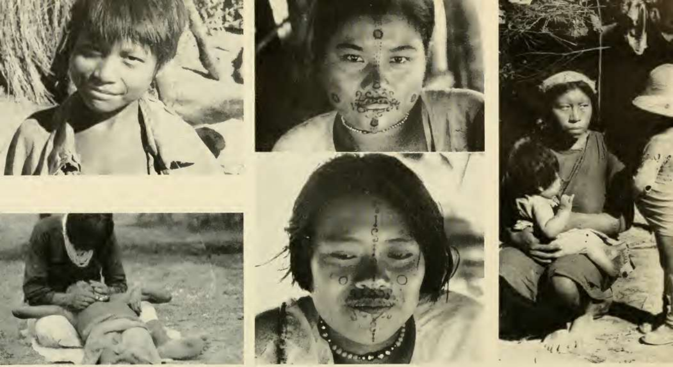


PLATE 68.—**Chaco Indian types.** *Top (left): Pilagá* boy. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.) *Top (center): Mbayá* facial painting. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Right: Pilagá* mother. (Courtesy Mann.) *Bottom (left): Pilagá* woman tattooing a girl. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.) *Bottom (center): Mbayá* facial painting. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.)

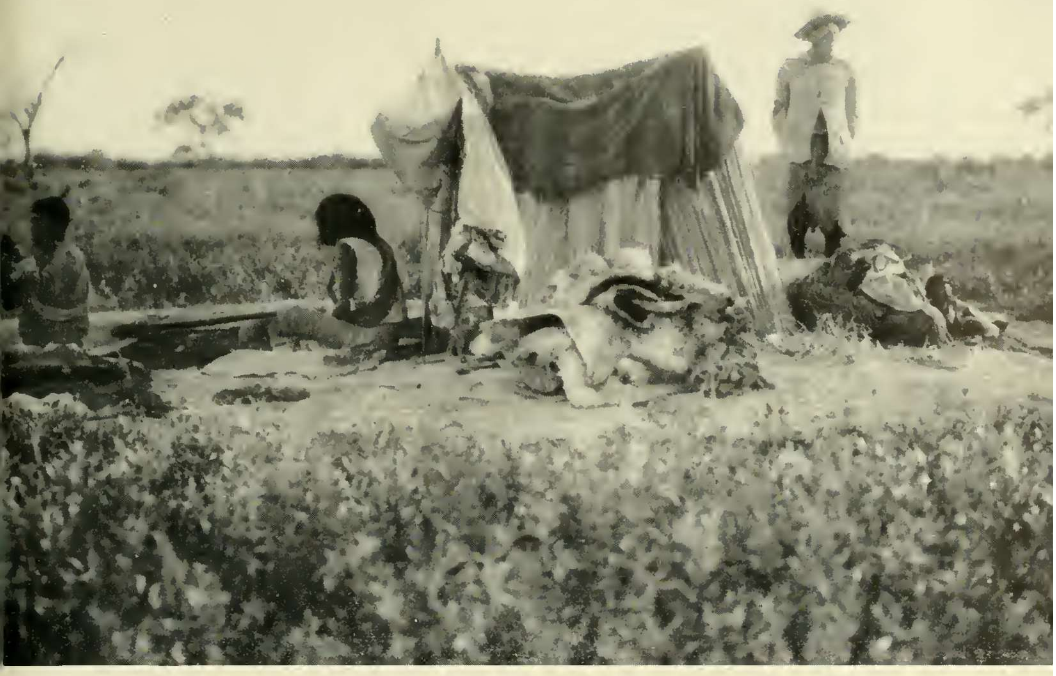
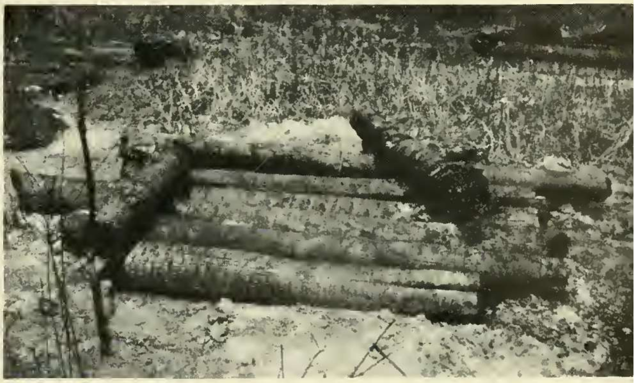
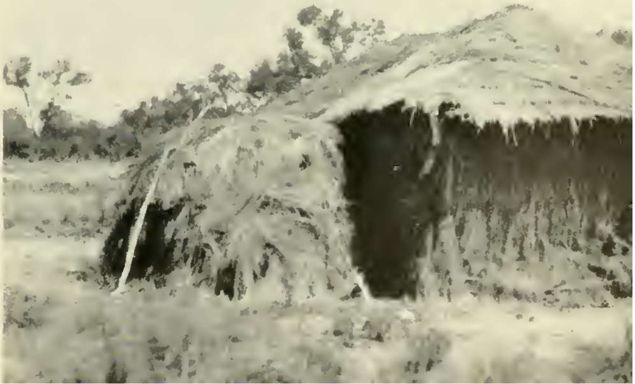


PLATE 69.—**Chaco death customs.** *Top: Pilagá* seclusion hut for widow. *Center: Pilagá* log covered grave. *Bottom: Mataco* widow's seclusion hut, with annex. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)





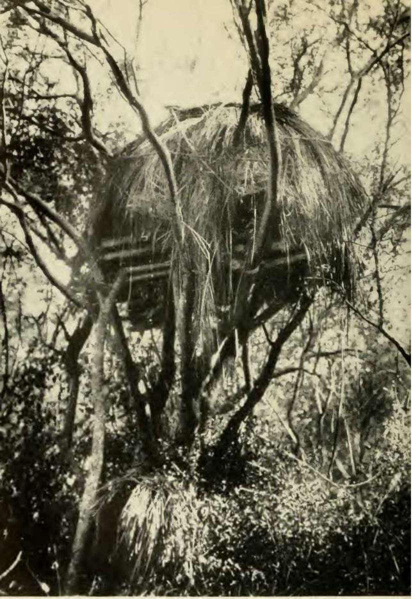


PLATE 70.—**Mataco tree burial.** (Courtesy Enrique Palavecino.)

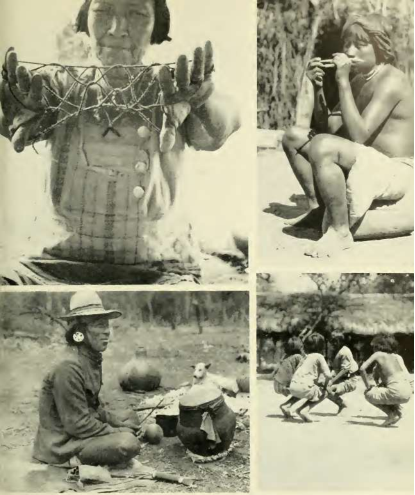


PLATE 71. **Chaco recreation.** *Top (left): Caduveo* woman making a "cat's cradle." (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Top (right): Pilagá* boy playing musical bow. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.) *Bottom (left): Ashluslay* drummer. *Bottom (right): Pilagá* girls dancing. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

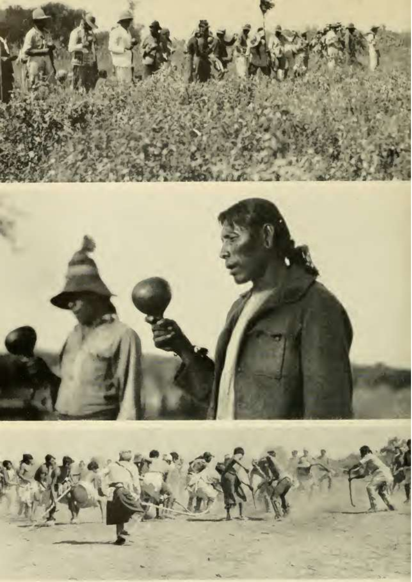


PLATE 72. **Chaco religion and games.** *Top:* *Mataco* ritual to expel evil. *Center:* *Pilagá* chief shaking shaman's rattle and chanting. *Bottom:* *Mataco* hockey game. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

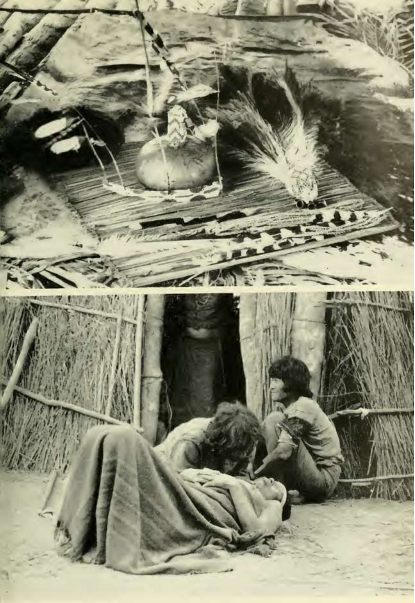


PLATE 73.—**Chaco shamanism.** *Top: Caduveo* shaman's outfit. (Courtesy Claude Lévi-Strauss.) *Bottom: Pilagá* shaman blowing on sick person. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

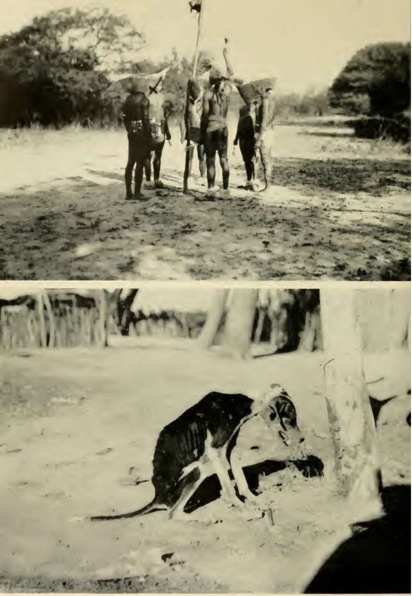


PLATE 74.—**Chaco Indian types.** *Top: Toba* scalp dance, with scalp on top of post. *Bottom: Mataco* dog suffering from starvation. (Courtesy Alfred Métraux.)

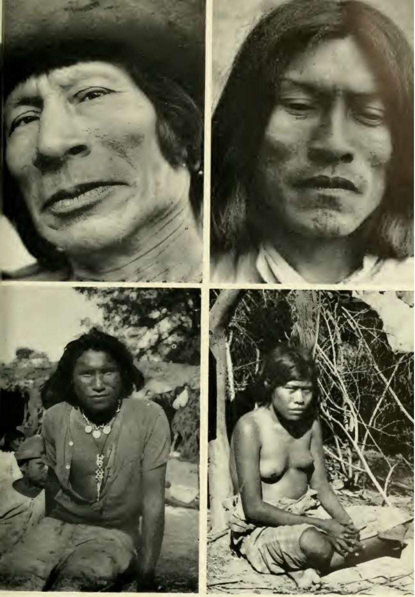


PLATE 75.—**Chaco Indian types.** *Top (left): Toba* man. *Top (right): Pilagá* man. *Bottom (left): Pilagá* man. *Bottom (right): Pilagá* woman. (Courtesy Mann.)

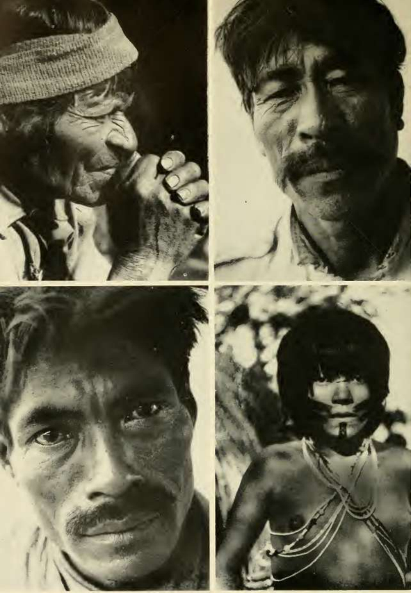


PLATE 76.—**Chaco Indian types.** *Top (left): Toba* chief. *Top (right): Mataco* man, tattooed chin. *Bottom (left): Mataco* man. *Bottom (right): Maca* girl, painted face. (Courtesy Mann.)

me, I have already suffered much" (Karsten, 1932, p. 172), but there is no record that other tribes prayed to spirits. On the other hand, magic treatment of diseases among the *Toba* and the *Mataco* always includes a mock offering to the spirit or demon which has caused the illness. All kinds of valuable objects are piled up and presented to it with the undertsanding that it will be content with the immaterial essence of them.

Ritual.—The magic ritual of the Chaco Indians follows, as a rule, very simple patterns. Most of their ceremonies have a coercive character and are aimed either at curbing some malignant power or at directly influencing nature or men. Such great power is attributed to chanting and to the sound of the gourd rattle which accompanies it that most of the Chaco magic rites consist of the monotonous repetition of a melodious theme with meaningless words or syllables. Only rarely, the conjuration includes a short sentence, generally a request that the evil go away. The chanter usually starts with a low murmur which rises gradually and then falls into a deep tone. A Pilcomayo River Indian will chant and shake his rattle (pl. 72, *center*) on many occasions: To keep evil spirits at a distance, when he wakes up after a bad dream, when some danger threatens at night, to gain the favor of a girl, to bring good luck to women who collect fruits, to insure a big catch of fish or game, and to help the fermentation of algarroba beer. When a group of *Pilagá* men are about to leave for a journey, old women hop around them raising both arms and singing a sort of blessing. Among the ancient *Abipón*, one of the main duties of female shamans was to dance and sing in any sacred circumstance.

Beating a drum, although less used, has the same ritual power as the tinkling of a gourd rattle. The *Mataco* drum to hasten the maturity of algarroba pods and to help girls in the critical period of their first menstruation. Spirits are easily frightened off by the jingle of the deer hoofs or bells, which the shamans and their assistants attach to their ankles and belts when they cure a sick person by expelling the supernatural intruder. Unusual magical power is attributed to rattles made of a special kind of gourd and filled with sacred beetles. Round wooden whistles and bone whistles in the form of flutes also have magical uses. *Toba* shamans are said to whirl a sort of bull-roarer in order to bring rain (Rydén, 1933).

Many Chaco dances have a definite ceremonial value. Thus, at the end of the dry season *Toba* women, directed by a shaman, dance and fling themselves to the ground as if seized by a sudden illness. Shamans pretend to cure them, while other dancers turn around them, stamping the ground, yelling, and shaking their rattles. This dance is to assure the health of the women during the summer. The jaguar dance of the *Toba* is supposed to protect women from jaguar attacks.

Boys and girls dance in a circle, each boy lashing the loins of the girl in front of him with a cloth. The girls fall to the ground, when a shaman, acting the part of a jaguar, sucks and blows on them (Karsten, 1932, p. 150). When girls come of age (*Mataco*, *Ashluslay*, *Lengua*), the women and boys ritually dance to dramatize the attacks of the spirits and their final defeat.

By chanting and dancing to the point of exhaustion, the *Toba* try to hasten the maturity of chañar fruit. The *Chorotí* dance around a fish in the hope that the ceremony will make fish come in great quantities to a certain place.

Dancing figures in the treatment of disease: While the *Mataco* or *Toba* shaman blows and murmurs incantations over a patient, assistants wearing belts with bells attached and deer-hoof anklets, perform a sort of rhythmical, half-jumping walk. Dancing, according to the *Mataco*, frightens the disease demon away or makes him tired, as he feels compelled to join in the dance.

When rain falls without thunder—a sign that the spirits are kindly disposed—the *Chamacoco* dress in their best ornaments, with jingles attached to hands and feet, and indulge in demonstrations of wild joy. They throw themselves to the ground and play tricks on one another.

Collective rites.—When a community is threatened, everyone may join in a ceremony to ward off the impending evil. When a *Mataco* band dreads an epidemic, it symbolically fights the spirits or disease demons. Both sexes wearing red head bands with feathers, necklaces, and red waistcoats line up behind a row of arrows stuck into the ground (pl. 72, *top*). They begin the counter-offensive with magical songs accompanied by gourd rattles. At intervals the shamans take a snuff of hatax (cebil, *Piptadenia macrocarpa*) powder to achieve a mild state of trance, when their liberated souls go to the sky in the form of birds to challenge the hostile spirits. Then everyone threatens the invisible enemies with rattles and bunches of feathers, marches against them, and steps on them as if to crush them. The ceremony is concluded with a general disinfection: The performers blow on each other, tinkle their rattles all over their neighbors' bodies, and dust them with feather bundles. The souls of the dead shamans may be invited to participate in the ceremony, and some cebil powder is dropped on the ground for them.

When a strong south wind blows, the *Lengua* shake their blankets in hope of throwing the sickness out into the wind, a rite which was also practiced by the *Mbayá* and by the Patagonian tribes.

Ceremonial objects, charms, and amulets.—The *Lengua* regard red head bands with feather fringes as a protection against evil spirits, especially water demons. When a *Mataco* deals with the supernatural world, he also puts on a red head band, and possibly a red knitted wool shirt. Thread crosses inserted in head bands deter invisible enemies. Everyone who takes part in a rite or who must face danger paints his face with black or red designs to insure his safety. All Chaco Indians use hunting charms. The *Toba* wear around their waists an elongated bag made of a rhea's neck containing diverse plants and animal exuviae, which they expect to bring abundant game. The *Lengua* use wax images to bring good hunting luck. The *Mataco* and the other Pilcomayo River Indians usually wear around their necks one or more pouches containing medicinal plants. *Mocoví* men attached deer hoofs around their wrists and ankles in order to become faster runners (Baucke, 1870, p. 120).

Boys and girls employ charms and talismans to assure the success of their love affairs. (See Arnott, 1935, pp. 294–296.)

In most Chaco tribes, if a man engaged in heavy work feels tired, he draws blood from his limbs by pricking the skin with an awl made of rhea or jaguar bone. The *Guaicuruan*-speaking Indians give much importance to these scarifications and encourage even small children to jab themselves. During drinking bouts, the *Abipón* pricked their breasts, arms, and tongues with a bundle of thorns, or with the sharp bones of a caiman's back, with much loss of blood. On similar occasions, *Payaguá* men had shamans pierce their skin with wooden skewers or stringray darts. Some, like the *Abipón*, wounded their penises and allowed the blood to drip into a hole in the ground. Famous warriors voluntarily had their tongues perforated with a wooden awl (Aguirre, 1911, p. 367).

The *Abipón* and the *Mocoví* credited caiman's teeth with great virtue to heal serpent's bites when applied againsts the wound or worn around the neck.

Omens and dreams.—Chaco Indians pay close attention to some natural phenomena which they interpret as presages or omens. The *Mocoví* attributed ominous significance to the cry of a bird, which was supposed to say, "Flee away lest you be swallowed by the earth," and to the heron's call. The *Toba* do not like certain black birds to sit on their huts. When a flock of these birds fly by their village, they make noises to chase them away.

When a war party comes upon a wildcat or a jaguar scratching the earth, the warriors prefer to return home. If they witness a fight between two yulo birds, they observe carefully the direction in which the defeated bird flies, and believe they are sure to win if it goes toward the enemy.

A comet is regarded as the harbinger of an epidemic; a meteor foretells the death of a witch doctor. (See Grubb, 1914, p. 124.)

> Dreams play a very important part in the life of an Indian, and to some extent govern many of his actions.

This statement by the missionary Grubb (1913, p. 127), has been confirmed by observations made in several Chaco tribes (*Toba*, *Mataco*, *Ashluslay*, and others). The *Lengua* explain that during sleep the soul leaves the body and has many adventures which often are construed as real. Dreams are regarded by the Indian "as warnings and guides to his conduct" (Grubb, 1913, p. 127). The actions of a person seen in a dream are often regarded as the expression of his actual intentions, and the dreamer subsequently acts accordingly.

Religious feasts.—The tribes of the Bermejo River—*Paisan*, *Atalala*, and probably *Mataco*—celebrated ceremonies which brought them, symbolically, in direct contact with the supernatural. Such feasts contained a dramatic element which seems absent from the religious life of modern Indians in the same region, and may either have vanished or escaped the attention of modern observers. There is, in a text by the Jesuit Camaño y Bazán (1931), a detailed account of one of these "mysteries."

The *Vilela* planted in the ground 10 or 12 poles decorated with painted designs. The assembled shamans designated a young man to impersonate a god called Gos (in *Vilela*, "spirit"), and appointed a girl to be the god's wife and a group of boys to be his servants. Near the poles, two huts were erected in which the spirit and his suite were lodged before and during the ceremonies. On the appointed day, the youth of the village, covered with feathers and smeared with paint, came to the sacred spot carrying jars of beer. They danced and addressed prayers to the spirit begging for rain and imploring his protection against epidemics, after which Gos, with his wife and servants, emerged from a grove where they had hidden the day before. The boy impersonating the god wore a huge tapering headdress of straw, provided with "horns," and concealed his whole body under skins and bundles of straw. His wife was naked but for a net apron, and his followers wore only feather belts. They all concealed their faces behind small painted sticks. The divine couple and their escorts danced around the poles, shouting, grimacing, and striking the poles with painted sticks. After a while, they retired to their hut. At noon and in the evening of the following days, they repeated their performance.

The same ritual pattern was followed on other more festive occasions. Young people with feather headdresses, bracelets, belts, and anklets danced around a quebracho blanco or a guayacan tree, whistling and shouting. A naked girl accompanied the dancers. During other ceremonies young people of both sexes ran around the village carrying sticks trimmed with feathers.[52]

Father Remedi, who was well acquainted with the *Mataco* of the Bermejo River, was told that they celebrated a feast during which the

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[52] In another version of the same feast given by Father Alonso Sanchez, it is said that on the last day of the feast, just before dawn, the dancers broke the beer jars (G. Fúrlong, 1939, p. 57).

"devil" came from the bush where he had been in hiding and danced with the people, amusing them with his leaps and antics. Suddenly everyone stood silent while the god-impersonator made prophecies about the next harvest, the abundance of game, and impending diseases, and answered the individuals who consulted him about their own future (Lafone-Quevedo, 1896 a, 17:348).[53]

The appearance of the Pleiades above the horizon in April or May, which marked the new year, occasioned much rejoicing among the tribes of the *Guaicuruan* stock and the *Guaná* under their direct influence. The *Abipón* congratulated the star cluster as if it were a man. They drank mead, and a female shaman danced to trumpets, while the spectators shouted, each striking his mouth with his hands. During the ceremony, the female shaman made the warriors swift by touching their thighs with her rattle. This feast quite often coincided with the formal initiation of male and female shamans.

The feast of the Pleiades, one of the major religious events of the year, was in every *Mbayá* village the occasion for stripping the huts of their mat coverings, which they struck with cudgels to drive away any evil influence which lurked there. This general disinfection, strongly reminiscent of the expulsion of the Gualichu among the *Araucanians* and Patagonians, was to ward off epidemics and disasters during the coming year (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 2:13).

The ceremonial life of the *Tereno* and probably of all the *Guaná* also was particularly intense when the new year began. It is difficult to ascertain whether these Indians adopted the *Mbayá* rites and added a few traditional elements of their own, or whether ceremonies already present in their own earlier culture corresponded to the Pleiades feast of the *Mbayá*.

During the 3 months preceding the rising of the Pleiades, all the *Tereno* shamans of a village chanted and shook their rattles in front of their huts every night. A shaman, whom his colleagues designated master of ceremonies, instructed the villagers to prepare for the coming feast. One of the first rites of the festival was a simulated attack against the chief's hut by an old shaman who, armed with a horn, and with his face veiled by a net, impersonated a spirit. The chief placated the spirit by presenting him and his colleagues with a bull. Then an old man with a spear turned to the four corners of the earth, and announced, "I am the Grandfather of the chiefs of the East; . . . of the West; . . . of the North; and . . . of the South." He also enumerated the important men who lived in each direction. He then lifted his eyes toward the Pleiades and asked of them rain for the fields, and protection against war, diseases, serpent bites, and other evils. He prayed for an hour and concluded with a cry, whereupon the whole band jumped, shouted, and made every possible noise, even with firearms. Amidst this tumult, the old man returned to his hut (Rhode, 1885, p. 409). These performances were followed by sportive amusements, especially boxing.

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[53] According to a letter by Collins M. Smith, a Protestant missionary among the *Mataco*, a similar ceremony was celebrated in 1941. "It would appear that one or two witch doctors cooperated, one of them impersonating some well known witch doctor of bygone days, known by reputation only, even to the oldest of the present generation. All kinds of gifts were brought to them, and after the usual chanting, palavering, etc. he appeared from the depths of the leading witch doctor's hut, having come up out of the ground, and spoke to the assembly."

The climax of the celebration was the Dance of the Rhea Feather Dress. The members of the Bad Moiety, who had made a nuisance of themselves by breaking pots and destroying everything in sight, were finally challenged by those of the Good Moiety, who appeared in war array, each man grasping a painted stick. Then, for a whole day, each moiety danced in a line facing the other and alternately dealt and parried blows at their opponents with their sticks.

The religion of the southern *Arawakan* tribes living north of the Chaco (*Mojo*, *Paressí*, *Paumari*) was characterized by ceremonies in which masked men impersonating spirits terrified the women and levied from them tributes of food or drinks. Certain aspects of *Tereno* feasts were survivals of such ancient ceremonies, though they may have degenerated into mere amusements with little ritual significance. Hidden in some secret spot, the men painted themselves to conceal their identity and pretended to attack the village. The women, instead of running away, defended themselves in a mock battle. A man, painted in black and red, with feathers on his head and covered with twigs, entered the village plaza, where he amused the audience by his antics. The men also built a temporary house on the plaza which was taboo to women. There they disguised themselves with rhea feathers and with facial paintings; then for several successive days they danced for hours around the men's house (Rhode, 1885, p. 409).

The ancient *Mbayá* had a similar feast, but the masked person was a sturdy girl who smeared her face with charcoal and covered herself with branches. A group of naked boys surrounded her and, despite the opposition of the village girls, attempted to strip her of her foliage outfit. When finally they caught her, they took her to a river to wash her face. Such games were played in honor of the chiefs, who afterward appeared masked with boughs.

The Anãpösö feast of the Chamacoco.—The Anãpösö feast is celebrated at the end of the initiation in which the young men are taught the lore of the band and told that the spirits which they have previously greatly feared are only masked men.

As soon as the date of the feast is fixed, the men open a circular clearing in the forest, some 60 feet (18 m.) in diameter, which is approached by a narrow, winding path. Opposite the path, an avenue, 9 to 11 feet (2.5 to 3.5 m.) wide, runs a short distance into the bush. A tall tree surrounded by underbrush stands in the center of the plaza. For 5 or 6 days the feast is heralded by the shrill and distant voice of a spirit which is heard in the village at dusk. The first night only a shaman answers the call; on the following night more and more people sing and rattle their gourds to invoke the mysterious visitor. On the 7th or 8th day, the men go to the dance ground and post a sentry on the path. The women go some distance from the village and sit under the guard of young uninitiated boys, who prevent their walking into the forest. Every woman knows that too much curiosity may be fatal.

On the dance ground men stand by large fires, where they sing and shake their rattles. The fastest runner circles the central tree, followed by two men blowing whistles said to be made of a woman's bones. A line of young and old men follow them. Whenever an exhausted runner stops to rest, he is derided by the spectators. The whistlers are relieved without a single interruption in the alternate rhythm of the whistling. Suddenly the call of a spirit sounds at a distance. Everybody squats around the fires, except the first three runners and a shaman, who starts a chant. The spirit's second call is received with shouts, and a man holding a firebrand turns rapidly around the tree in the opposite direction to the three runners.

This wild running around the tree alternates with the spirit's calls during this and 3 or 4 successive nights. On the 4th or 5th night, everyone paints himself red with white stripes across the chest. Old men eat the best morsels of an armadillo and pass the remainder to the younger people. During a general silence, the voice of the spirit is heard and greeted with shouts of joy. The chief converses with the spirit, who is then recognized as the messenger of the Great Anāpösö, and conveys through him a formal invitation for all the Anāpösö to dance at the village. The spirit retires, his voice gradually dying away. The men dance and shout in joy, while runners continue to circle the tree.

On the following day, the Anāpösö formally appear on the village plaza. Their impersonators have tightly netted bags pulled over their heads and hammocks wrapped around their bodies; they are profusely decorated with feathers, and the bare parts of the body are painted red, black, and white. Suddenly shouting, running, and jumping like madmen, the Anāpösö rush upon the encampment, where they begin the dance, always keeping up their shouting. The women hide behind a wall of mats, mosquito nets, and rags, where they remain silent with their backs toward the dancing place. Knowing that the sight would bring death, none dares to look. Some even press their faces against the ground. It is believed that if the women were ever to discover that the spirits are really human beings, the whole tribe would perish. (See Métraux, 1943.)

In some bands, the Anãpösö feast has lost much of its sacred character. Among the *Tumerehã*, a *Chamacoco* subtribe, it is merely a dance of the clowns, who sing and go through antics. On the last day, they remove their masks openly and paint their faces red.

SHAMANISM

Every Chaco band has many individuals who are capable of treating a sick person or chanting to avert some impending disaster. It is, therefore, sometimes difficult to distinguish between a person with a smattering of magical arts and a professional shaman.

Initiation and training.—Among the *Lengua*, the profession of shaman often runs in a family, but, here as elesewhere, it is not strictly hereditary.

In theory, all the power and knowledge of the *Mataco* shamans come from spirits. A spirit abducts the soul of the would-be shaman, teaches him the spirit language, and treats him as he will later treat his own patients. Among the *Toba*, a novice, in order to become a fullfledged shaman, must receive a revelation in which he sees a spirit who teaches him a new chant. But, in both cases, the candidates also observe the manipulations of professionals and learn from them the methods and secrets of their calling.

Before practicing his art, a medicine man must live in solitude, wandering aimlessly in the bush or sitting in a tree; during the period of retirement, he observes a rigorous fast, eating only such foods as raw dog meat (*Toba*, *Mataco*) or toads and snakes (*Lengua*). The diet of the *Lengua* novice includes little birds plucked alive which transmit to him their power of singing. During his apprenticeship, the candidate repeats his medicine chant continuously as though impelled by a superior force. Afterward an old shaman shoots a small stick at him which penetrates his body without, however, causing any injury (*Toba*). This stick is probably the same one which the shaman is supposed to shoot into his enemies' bodies. When a *Mbayá* apprentice shaman, male or female, had acquired proficiency in chanting, all the shamans of the community gathered in his hut for 2 days to chant special songs while brandishing tufts of rhea feathers. The teachers drank at the expense of the disciple, who spent a whole night chanting and rattling his gourd to show his skill.

The *Kaskihá* novice shamans have to fast for about 3 months before practicing. Throughout this period, they endure periods of several days of complete abstinence from food and water, followed by brief intervals during which they may drink water and eat sweet potatoes.[54]

The training of the *Tereno* shaman starts in childhood. During the last year of training, he must abstain from fresh meat, fat, salt, manioc, and fruit. On a certain day the instructor produces from his mouth a frog, a small snake, or a tarantula, and gives it to his pupil to eat. Finally, the novice must chant at night until a spirit reveals itself to him.

In most Chaco tribes, old women often have medical knowledge and are called to treat a sick person. They also know charms and dances which prove helpful in many circumstances. But true shamans are usually men, except among the *Abipón* and *Tereno*, where some female "jugglers" seem to have had great influence and were constantly active. Among the *Mbayá* some young girls practiced medicine (Sánchez Labrador, 1910–17, 2:32).

Techniques of the shaman.—A shaman has at his service a familiar spirit who performs all the difficult tasks on his behalf and informs him of secrets or future events. *Lule* and *Mataco* shamans snuff a powder made of the seeds of the cebil (*Piptadenia macrocarpa*) to put themselves in a state of mild trance or excitement, when they send their souls in the form of yulo birds to the other world. Their metamorphosis is facilitated by blowing a whistle made from the leg bone of a yulo. The shaman's soul goes to the land of the spirits or visits the Sun, who is a medicine man of great wisdom. If it meets a rival, a battle ensues in which the life of one of the contenders is at stake.

Lengua shamans hypnotize themselves by "sitting in a strained position for hours, fixing their gaze upon some distant object" (Grubb, 1913, p. 146). In this condition, they are supposed to throw their souls out.

Spirits appeared to the *Tereno* shaman in the guise of hawks (*Herpetotheres* sp.), which they conjure up by chanting and rattling their rattles for a whole night, often with the assistance of their relatives. Familiar spirits sometimes took the appearance of jaguars (*Mbayá*).

The curing function of the shaman.—In native eyes the main function of shamans is to cure sick people. There are two theories about the nature of diseases: they may be caused by the intrusion of some object or animal into a person, or by the loss of the soul. Spirits acting either of their own accord or through the will of some witch are held responsible for the presence of pathogenic substances in the patient's body. Some Indians even believe that the pathogenic objects or animals are transformed spirits. For instance, when a person is bitten by a snake, the spirit of the snake enters the body, but it is conceived to turn then into an actual serpent (*Pilagá*). The *Lengua*, *Tereno*, and *Mataco* ascribe their ailments to the presence in the body of spirits in the form of snakes, rats, goats, kittens, or beetles. The *Lengua* fear a beetle flying by because it is regarded as the materialization of the evil which the shaman extracts from his patients' bodies.

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[54] Additional details on the *Kaskihá* shaman's initiation rites are given by Hassler (1894, pp. 356–67), who unfortunately is not reliable. The profession is hereditary in the male line. To consecrate his son, a shaman builds a special cabin, in each corner of which he places a small pot containing herbs soaked in water. The decoction varies with the points of the horizon. During 5 days, the hut is taboo to all except the father. Then the son is taken inside amidst the howls of women. He finds a ceremonial vessel made according to strict rules. The father pours out the contents of the pots, beginning with the one in the east corner. The novice drinks the fermented and ill-smelling beverage, and his father breaks the ceremonial vessel on his head. The candidate then retires for several days in the new hut and observes a strict fast. The power of the shaman resides partly in his saliva impregnated with the magic force of the beverage he has absorbed as a novice. Those who specialize in curing serpent bites suck a serpent and eat raw slices of its flesh.

The view that diseases are caused by the kidnapping of the soul by some demon or spirit occurs simultaneously with the intrusion theory among the *Toba*, *Lengua*, *Mbayá*, *Tereno*, and probably other Chaco tribes.

Some diseases and accidents are attributed to the violation of a taboo by the victim or his relatives. The *Mocoví* traced any infant's ailment to an imprudence of the father, who might, for instance, have eaten tabooed food.

If disease is caused by an intrusion, the shaman, in order to remove the pathogenic substance, proceeds in the following way: He blows (pl. 73) and spits on the patient and chants monotonously in rising and falling tones. The chant has no words, although the shaman may order the evil to go away.[55] The blowing is followed by violent suction which often draws blood. Some *Toba* shamans scratch the ailing region with a knife or with a small board engraved with designs purported to represent a person (Ducci, 1904, p. 173). The shaman, contracting the muscles of his face, acts as if he will vomit, and spits out mucus, which he may claim to be fragments of the object or animal that he has removed from the patient. Often he exhibits a beetle, a piece of wood, or a pebble, which he pretends to have extracted. Among the *Lengua*, the shaman announces in a special chant that the intruding spirit has been cast out and that it is, therefore, safe for the absent soul to return (Grubb, 1913, p. 134).

If the disease is the consequence of soul loss, the shaman sends his familiar spirit or his own soul to discover its whereabouts and to rescue it.

The *Mbayá* shaman cured sick people in a round enclosure made of mats, which nobody could enter lest he lose his sight or his life. He chanted, shaking his rattle, then became silent, when his soul went to the cemetery to bring his patient's soul back. Sometimes he might declare that his own soul was wandering through the bush in search of the vagabond soul. After the quest, he always sucked the patient's body and spat out objects, which he buried in a hole. When extracting foreign bodies, shamans pressed heavily on the patient's stomach with their fists. During the whole treatment the patient was not allowed to open his eyes.

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[55] *Payaguá* shamans, naked except for a rope around the neck, began their treatment by smoking tobacco in a long pipe, then proceeded to frighten off the disease by a variety of sounds from a trumpet made of two halved calabashes sewn together. The cure subsequently followed the usual pattern.

If, during the search for the wandering soul, the *Mbayá* shaman saw it mounted on a horse, he knew the case to be hopeless and abandoned the patient to his fate. Nevertheless, he generally asked the relatives to pay him, though, infuriated by his failure, they might pelt him with firebrands instead. When resentment against an unsuccessful shaman was great, he often joined some other band lest he be murdered by his patients' kinfolk.

The *Tumerehã* blame illness on the sun. Their shamans treat a sick person by spitting in their hands and rubbing the ailing parts of the patient's body. The cure is accompanied by chants and dances, in imitation of the voice and behavior of animals which are regarded as demons (Baldus, 1931 a, p. 89).

Other functions of the shamans.—An important duty of shamans is to protect their band by chanting and shaking their rattles at night when there is a danger from the supernatural world.

When the *Abipón* sensed impending danger, they consulted their female shamans, who gathered in a hut and spent the night beating two large drums and muttering incantations, accompanied by a continual motion of the feet and arms. The next day, the singers received presents, and were anxiously asked what the spirit had said (Dobrizhoffer, 1784, 2: 83). When a storm arose, *Mbayá* shamans chanted, shook their rattles, and blew at the clouds to disperse them. *Lengua* shamans provoked rain by tossing the blood of a certain kind of duck upward. *Mbayá*, *Lule*, and *Mataco* shamans dispatched their souls to the sky to bring back rain.

Shamans also can learn about the future by traveling at night to the land of the spirits. *Mataco* medicine men send their souls to the Sun for the same purpose, but the journey is perilous, as the Sun, a great Cannibal, does not wish to be bothered by visitors. He places in the shamans' way various traps which they must avoid before they can come near him. Yet, if they succeed, the Sun is ready to answer all their queries.

Formerly, when a *Mbayá*, *Abipón*, *Toba*, or *Mataco* shaman wished to consult a spirit—among the *Abipón*, the soul of a relative—he crept under a blanket, shook his rattle, and muttered incantations. After a while he trembled and felt a shock, which was unmistakable evidence that a spirit had arrived. The shaman then conversed with the spirit, who answered in a characteristically shrill voice.

Mbayá shamans not only could forsee future events, but by their magic they could prevent their realization. Thus, they could forestall diseases, wars, and famines that might have destroyed their people. Shamans among the *Guaicuruan*-speaking tribes accompanied military expeditions and by their charms brought victory to their party. They were credited with power to kill their enemies merely by blowing at them. When a *Mbayá* band traveled, the shamans chanted every night to insure the success of the journey.

Influence and prestige of shamans.—The influence of the shamans on their community is often considerable, and now and then they become the actual leaders of the band. On the other hand, chiefs are often shamans. Some shamans perform miracles to increase their prestige. *Lengua* medicine men claimed to be able to eat a very poisonous root without feeling any ill effect. By simple tricks, they made the Indians believe that they could spit seeds which promptly developed into full-grown ripe pumpkins.

Tereno shamans knew many sleight-of-hand tricks: They extracted feathers from their nose; swallowed arrows; and pretended to remove a limb, arm or leg, which they later replaced. They also were serpent charmers. *Mataco* shamans walk on hot ashes without suffering harm.

The *Abipón*, fearing vengeance, accounted it a crime to contradict their shamans' words or to oppose their desires or commands. Throughout the Chaco, shamans derive substantial benefits from their profession. After an expedition, the *Abipón* awarded the shaman who had accompanied them the best part of the spoils. Dobrizhoffer (1874, 2:87) remarks that medicine men "had plenty of excellent horses, and domestic furniture superior to that of the rest." *Toba* shamans insist that their clients pay them speedily on the ground that if they are remiss, the offended spirit will punish both the doctor and his patient.

Witchcraft.—There is in the Chaco great fear of sorcery, which is held responsible for most evils. The *Abipón* told Dobrizhoffer that if it were not for sorcerers, people would probably live forever. Even such accidents as snake bites and violent death at the hands of enemies are often regarded as the work of some ill-disposed shaman.

Sorcery follows the common pattern of imitative and contagious magic: the sorcerer secures some exuviae of the person he wishes to harm and subjects them to manipulations symbolic of the fate he wishes to bring upon his victim. Even Christianized *Mataco* are reluctant to give up specimens of their hair lest they be bewitched. Few Indians, even those familiar with civilization, will allow a stranger to take their pictures, since they believe these may become the instrument of their ruin.

Sorcerers may cause disease or death by shooting their enemies with invisible sticks or thorns, which they keep inside their own bodies (*Ashluslay*, *Toba*). A charm or spell suffices to direct the missile against the victim.

The shamans are said to have the power of changing themselves into jaguars in order to attack and devour people. Only a few years ago, a *Pilagá* Indian in Sombrero Negro made several attempts to turn himself into a jaguar, hoping to avenge his grievance against one of the local chiefs. He painted his body with black stripes, and pranced around his hut roaring and shouting, "I am a jaguar." He pounced upon his enemy like a jaguar, and some people even maintained that his nails had turned into claws.

Similar scenes were witnessed by Dobrizhoffer (1784, 1: 87):

> When these bugbears think anyone inimical or injurious to them, they will threaten to change themselves into a tiger and tear every one of their fellow men to pieces. No sooner do they begin to imitate the roaring of a tiger, than all the neighbors fly away in every direction. From a distance, however, they hear the feigned sound. "Alas! his whole body is beginning to be covered with tiger spots!" cry they. "Look, his nails are growing," the fearstruck women exclaim, although they cannot see the rogue, who is concealed within his tent; but that distracted fear presents things to their eyes which have no real existence.

MYTHOLOGY

Extensive collections of Chaco folklore exist only for the *Toba* and the *Mataco* (Nordenskiöld, 1912; Karsten, 1932; Métraux, 1935, 1939, 1941; Palavecino, 1940). For the other tribes (*Lengua*, *Chamacoco*) our information is based on scattered and often fragmentary material. (Grubb, 1914; Baldus, 1931 a; Alarcon y Cañedo, 1926.)

Cosmogony.—Many stars and contellations are identified with persons, animals, or objects which figure in the mythology. Thus the Southern Cross and Coalsack nearby represent a fabulous rhea pursued by two young men, α and β Centauri, and by their dogs, α and β Crucis (*Mataco*, *Toba*, *Mocoví*). The Milky Way is a road followed by mythical people (*Toba*), or the ashes of a celestial tree which was burned down (*Mocoví*). The *Mataco* and the *Toba* see a big yulo bird (*Tantalus cristatus*) in a constellation formed by the Pleiades, the Hyades, and the Belt of Orion. To the *Toba*, the "Tres Marías" (α, ε, and ζ Orionis) are three old women who live in a large house with a garden (Betelguese, Bellatrix, and κ Orionis). ζ 1 and ζ 2 Scorpii are two "grandchildren" (*Mataco*). The Hyades are visualized as a chuña bird (*Chunga burmeisteri*). The *Toba* say the Magellanic Clouds are algarroba flour pounded by a Star Woman (Venus) in her celestial mortar (Magellanic Clouds) (*Toba*). (For the star mythology of the Chaco Indians, see Lehmann-Nitsche, 1923 b, c; 1924–25 a, b, d, e; 1927.)

Sun and Moon.—To most Chaco tribes, Sun is a woman and Moon a man. Among the *Mataco* and *Chamacoco*, the sun and moon appear in tales of the type of the Twin stories, so common in South America. Sun is a clever person who succeeds in all his undertakings while Moon, always anxious to imitate him, fails and is finally killed. Sun calls on Mosquito, who has a beautiful field, and receives manioc and other foods from his friend. Moon wants to do likewise but does not notice Mosquito, whom he almost tramples to death. Mosquito bites Moon, who dies, but Sun resurrects him (*Chamacoco*).

Sun fishes for piranha, using his son as a bait. Moon wants to do the same, but the piranha eats his child (*Chamacoco*).

Sun catches ducks by changing himself into a duck. Moon uses the the same stratagem, but is detected and scratched by the infuriated birds, hence the spots on the Moon (*Mataco*).

Eclipses.—As a rule, eclipses are interpreted as attacks on the Moon or the Sun by a celestial jaguar (*Toba*, *Abipón*, *Mocoví*, *Mataco*, *Vilela*). The ancient *Lule* believed that the phenomenon was caused by a large bird which hid the Sun with his wings.

Meteoric phenomena.—Like many North American tribes, the *Choroti*, *Lengua*, and *Ashluslay* hold that thunder is produced by mythical birds. According to the *Ashluslay*, thunder is their cry and lightning the fire which they drop over the earth.

In *Toba* lore, the thunderbolt is an old hairy woman who falls during a storm and can return to the sky only in the smoke of a fire kindled by a friendly passerby.

The *Mataco*, *Toba*, and *Chamacoco* speak of Rain as a person (a spirit) who rides across the sky. The *Chamacoco* see clouds as large birds full of water, but also believe that rainfall depends on the goodwill of spirits who guard a big celestial jar full of water. The *Ashluslay* say that rain is produced by the Thunderbirds, who in their anger open a celestial container full of water; and that the rainbow is a huge serpent.

The Universe.—Many Chaco Indians describe the universe as formed of many superimposed layers. The *Mataco* divide it into three strata: the sky, the earth, and the underworld. The *Chamacoco* distinguish seven skies or layers, five above our earth and two below, each of which corresponds to a different color.

The *Mocoví*, *Toba*, *Mataco*, and *Chamacoco* have a myth about a gigantic tree which once connected the sky and the earth and by which the men of this earth climbed to hunt in the world above. Finally, a vengeful woman—in some versions a man—burned the tree. The people who remained in the sky were changed into the Pleiades (*Mataco*).

At the end of the earth there is an unextinguishable fire (*Mbayá*, *Mataco*), which the *Mataco* associate with the fire spirits. These spirits once set fire to the world to take revenge on the hornero bird (*Furnarius rufus*), who could not conceal his merriment when he saw fire issuing from their buttocks during a dance.

Creation myth.—The *Lengua* attribute the creation of the Universe to an enormous beetle. First he caused evil spirits to come out from under the earth and then produced a man and a woman from the "grains of soil he had thrown away." The first couple was glued together until Beetle separated them.

The ancient *Mbayá* had three different versions of the origin of mankind: (1) Men lived underground; a dog scented their presence and dug them out. This motif is still remembered by modern *Caduveo*. (2) The first men were hatched by a large bird which nested in a big hole on top of a mountain. (3) Mankind originated in a large pit, located in the north.

The *Tereno* tell of two mythical brothers who were catching birds in a trap. Following the bloody tracks of some which escaped, they arrived at a hole leading far down into the earth. Then out of this hole the *Tereno* came, blinded by the sunlight and shivering with cold (Hay, 1928, p. 124).

In a myth common to both the *Toba* and *Mataco*, women are said to have come from the sky. They climbed down by a rope in order to steal the food of men, who then were animals. A bird cut the rope and the women were obliged to remain here. Men could not have access to them until Carancho, the culture hero, broke their vaginal teeth.

The first *Chamacoco* were imprisoned in a quebracho tree so huge that they could play a ball game in it. A man cleaved the trunk, thus allowing mankind to emerge.

Cataclysms.—According to Chaco mythology, four different cataclysms destroyed the world: (1) A flood was caused by a menstruating girl who went for water and thus offended a water python (Rainbow) (*Toba*, *Mataco*, *Lengua*). (2) A big fire started by the fall of Sun consumed the world. (3) A wave of cold killed all the people. (4) Absolute darkness sat upon the earth for a whole year. As a result of each catastrophe some people were transformed into birds and animals (*Toba*, *Mocoví*, *Mataco*, *Chorotí*).

Origin of fire.—Rabbit is represented either as the jealous guardian of fire who was robbed by Hummingbird (*Toba*), or as the hero who stole it from jaguar, its former owner (*Mataco*). Rabbit is also the inventor of the fire drill, but it is Carancho who taught men how to use it (*Kaskihá*).

According to the *Ashluslay*, fire was formerly the property of the Thunder Birds, who had been hatched from hummingbird eggs.

Men discovered the properties of fire when they tasted a snail the birds roasted. The Thunder Birds resented men's discovery so much that they have since been their worst enemies. They terrify them with their cries (thunder), produce sparks with their wings (lightning), and throw thunderbolts at men and tall trees. Fire was a gift from Carancho to the *Chamacoco.* The culture hero received it from Owl.

The culture hero.—The culture hero is an outstanding figure in *Toba* folklore, in which he is identified with Carancho, a hawk (caracara) (*Polyborus plancus*), common in the Chaco. He is, above all, the exterminator of cruel and evil people; for instance, he kills the man with the sharpened leg, the man-eating bird, and the monster who catches people in a trap. His actual contributions to culture are few, though he showed men how to make and use the fire drill, how to treat the sick, and how to hunt game. In many a story, Carancho appears together with Fox, the Trickster; the pattern of their common adventures corresponds to that of the cycles of the Mythical Twins, found in much other South American folklore. Carancho plays the wise and clever brother, Fox the stupid and mischievous one. Carancho was also a culture hero to the *Mbayá* and the *Kaskihá.*

Other mythical characters helped mankind in their struggle for life: Thus, in *Toba* folklore, Kosodot, the little man, taught men how to hunt, and his wife, Kopilitara, showed women how to make pots; Spider was the first weaver.

The transformers.—In many South American mythologies, one of the culture hero's main functions is to transform animals and men into new shapes. In *Toba* folklore, Carancho sometimes assumes that role, but the Transformer, par excellence, is Nedamik, an aquatic bird.

Wondermakers.—The wondermakers are legendary characters endowed with great magic power. They usually appear as children or abused persons who later prove their mettle and punish their offenders. The Asin of the *Toba* is a bald, big-bellied individual who turns out to be a great warrior and a man capable of producing food from under his skin robe. The Child-born-in-a-pot, thanks to his miraculous arrow, becomes a famous hunter and fisherman (*Toba*, *Mataco*).

Trickster.—The trickster is a favorite character of *Toba* and *Mataco* folklore. Among the former, he is personified by Fox; among the latter by a man, Tawk^{c}wax. In both tribes he is a most colorful creature, greedy, lewd, boastful, and easily fooled. Out of bad temper or to satisfy his vanity, he throws himself into countless adventures. Invariably he is made into a public laughing stock or dies an unpleasant death. The trickster is responsible for several unhappy features of our world; for instance, he made the snake venomous, he immobilized fruit trees which formerly responded to the call of men, he created the stingray, and he caused a flood by shooting the fish in the big yuchan tree (*Chorisia insignis*).

Spirits.—Spirits and ghosts sometimes appear as the protagonists in Chaco folklore, but, judging from our available material, they seem to figure less prominently in the oral literature of the area than they do in other regions of South America; for instance, in the Amazon Basin. Spirits are represented as people who live like men, though they are distinct from them in many respects. They are eager to marry or kidnap the men and women of this world. According to *Lengua* folklore, the golden age ended when a girl responded to the call of a tree spirit (Alarcón y Cañedo, 1924, p. 76). A *Mataco* was kidnapped by the Inhabitants-of-the-earth, and married one of them. From his wife he received an eyelash which enabled him to see in the dark.

Animal stories.—Animal stories are very popular, but in most cases are interwoven with the adventures of the culture hero or of the trickster.

The themes of Chaco folklore.—Many folkloric themes which occur in the Chaco have a wide distribution in South America. For instance, there is the story of the girl who is made pregnant by magical means and of her baby who picks out his disguised father from a crowd by handing him a bow. The theme of the Tree of Life, which is so common in the Guianas and which also occurs among the *Arawakan Chané*, may have inspired the story of the huge yuchan tree (*Chorisia insignis*) full of fish. The people of old might shoot the fish which swam in the tree, provided they did not harm the big ones. The trickster, ignoring their warnings, struck a big dorado fish with his arrow, and caused it to break the tree with its tail. The world was flooded, but Trickster stopped the water by sticking his spear into the ground. He then led the water to the sea (*Mataco*, *Ashluslay*).

The story of the man who marries a star and then dies in the sky is extremely popular in the Chaco. Like many other themes, it offers an interesting parallel with North American mythology. Likewise the tale of the woman who mates with a dog (*Choroti*, *Mataco*, *Chamacoco*) suggests a well-known Arctic myth.

The coexistence within a tribe of different stories based on a single fundamental theme, such as the theft of fire, indicates that folklore motifs, like so many material traits, reached the Chaco from various culture areas. Yet Chaco myths, as a whole, have little in common with those of the Amazon Basin, and seem not to have been much influenced by *Chiriguano* folklore.

Although the Andean folklore is still imperfectly known, it is not unlikely that it has many themes which also occur in the Chaco. The importance of Fox among the *Quechua* and *Aymara* also points to the Andes as the possible source of many Chaco folkloric motifs.

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